

GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS



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CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

AMERICANA GERMANICA

A BI-MONTHLY DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE
Historical, Literary, Linguistic, Educational and Commercial Relations
OF
Germany and America

ORGAN OF

The German American Historical Society
The National German American Alliance
The Union of Old German Students in America

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New Series, Vol. 15.

1917.

Old Series, Vol. 19.

PUBLISHED BY

THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

E. M. FOGEL, Business Manager,
Box 39, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia.

Berlin :
MAYER & MÜLLER

New York :
CARL A. STERN

Leipzig :
F. A. BROCKHAUS

London :
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD.

Paris :
H. LÉSOUDIER

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OF
GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS

Continuation of the Quarterly
AMERICANA GERMANICA.

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PUBLISHED BY

THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

E. M. FOGEL, Secretary,

Box 39, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania,

PHILADELPHIA.

BERLIN:

NEW YORK:

LEIPZIG:

MAYER & MÜLLER CARL A. STERN F. A. BROCKHAUS

LONDON:

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD.

PARIS:

H. LESOUDIER

(RECAP)

10982
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vol 19

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NOV - 8 1918 461130

German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

AMERICANA GERMANICA

New Series, Jan., Feb., Mch. and April Old Series,
Vol. XV. Nos. 1 and 2. 1917. Vol. XIX. Nos. 1 and 2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ENGLISH RENDITIONS OF MODERN GERMAN DRAMAS.

KARL SCHOLZ.

University of Pennsylvania.

ABBREVIATIONS.

- L. C. Copy deposited in the Library of Congress at Washington.
N. C. No copy in the Library of Congress.
N. R. No record found of the English rendition in the Library of Congress.
-

The following bibliography contains a list of English versions of German dramas by authors, whose dramatic activity falls chiefly within the period of the German Empire. It is limited, with few exceptions to those renditions which have been published or copyrighted in the United States.

The chief source used in compilation was the list of dramatic compositions, which is now being printed by the Copyright Department of the Library of Congress. This monumental work, when completed, will contain the titles of nearly sixty thousand dramatic compositions. Only one-half of this list has been published to date. Through the courtesy of the Copyright Department the author was permitted to examine the complete card manuscript, before going to press.

The author realizes the difficulties in compiling a bibliography of this nature. It presupposes some limitations, for many of the entries in the copyright lists are either incomplete or vague.

Frequently dramas are mentioned as "from the German," without any reference to the author of the original. The titles are distorted to suit the taste of the translator. Only where the authorship of the original could be determined have the plays been mentioned here.

Neither librettos, which are recorded in the copyright lists, nor the many farces by insignificant authors, have been included. Hundreds of such compositions have been copyrighted in the United States since 1870.

The footnotes on the presentation of a number of the dramas are purely incidental, and are not intended as a complete record of all American or British productions of the Modern German Drama. The history of the German drama on the American stage since 1870 will be made the subject of a subsequent extended study.

The author would appreciate very much if his attention were called to any translations or adaptations of the Modern German Drama, which he may have missed in the following bibliography. It is more than likely that many manuscripts, which have been neither copyrighted nor recorded in a manuscript catalogue are extant.

ANZENGRUBER, LUDWIG, 1839-1889.

Farmer (The) Forsworn, tr. by Adolph Busse, in *The German Classics*, Vol. 16, p. 112 ff.

Fourth (The) Commandment, drama in four acts, tr. and ad. for the American stage by A. Sigmann, Pittsburgh, 1912. Typewritten. L. C.

BAHR, HERMANN, 1863-

Apostel, excerpt in *Cur. Lit.*, Vol. 40, pp. 89-94. Jan., 1906.

Concert (The),¹ American adaptation of *Das Konzert*, by Leo Ditrichstein, 1910. N. R.

¹ Presented at the Belasco Theatre, N. Y., beg. Oct. 4, 1910, and at Hollis Street Theatre, Boston, week of Dec. 21, 1911, Leo Ditrichstein and Janet Beecher starring.

Master (The),² ad. by Benjamin Glazer, 1916. N. R.

Poor Fool, excerpt in *Cur. Lit.*, Vol. 40, pp. 525-528. May, 1906.

BEYERLEIN, FRANZ ADAM, 1871-

Lights Out, a play in four acts, tr. by H. Havelock, pub. by William Heinemann, London, 1905.

Taps, a play of German military life, based upon *Zapfenstreich*, ad. for the American stage by Alexis I. Du Pont Coleman, pub. by C. Herman, N. Y., 1904.

——— same, tr. by Charles Swickard, pub. by John W. Luce, Boston, 1915.

BLUMENTHAL, OSCAR, 1852-

After Business Hours, four act comedy from the German by Augustin Daly, N. Y., 1886. N. C.

Dynamite, comedy in three acts from the German, ad. and tr. by George Arthur and R. A. Weil, N. Y., 1893. N. C.

Little Miss Million, a comedy in four acts from the German by Augustin Daly, N. Y., 1890. N. C.

BLUMENTHAL, OSCAR, and KADELBURG, GUSTAV, 1851-

At the White Horse Tavern,³ a comedy in three acts, ad. from *Im weissen Roess'l*, by Sydney Rosenfeld, pub. Cherouny Printing and Publishing Co., N. Y. 1898.

Is Marriage a Failure? a comedy in four acts, tr. and ad. by Leo Ditrichstein, N. Y., 1909. N. C.

Last (The) Spark, comedy in three acts, ad. by Charlotte Thompson, N. Y., 1913. Typewritten. L. C.

Number Nine, or The Lady of Ostend, a comedy in three

² Presented at the Fulton Street Theatre, New York, beg. Dec. 5, 1916, Arnold Daly playing the leading part.

³ Presented at Wallack's Theater, N. Y., beg. Feb., 1899. The sequel to this play, *Wieder im weissen Roess'l*, did not prove a success when adapted to the American stage. "Mr. Rosenfeld succeeded in retaining the spirit of the original remarkably well. He erred on the safe side in not trying to improve on the German play." *Cf. Plays of the Present*, ed. by Clapp and Edgett, p. 19.

acts, from the German by F. C. Burnand and Augustin Daly, N. Y. 1897. N. C.

Orient (The) Express, comedy in three acts, ad. from the German *Die Orient Reise*, by F. C. Burnand and Augustin Daly, N. Y., 1913. Typewritten. L. C.

Test (A) Case, or *Grass versus Granite*, from the German by Augustin Daly, N. Y., 1893. N. C.

BRACHVOGEL, A. E., 1824-1878.

Narciss, or *The Last Days of the Pompadour*, a romantic historical drama in five acts, tr. by Charles F. Buck, New Orleans, 1875.

DAUTHENDEY, MAX, 1867-

Caprices (The) of an Empress, dramatic composition in four acts, tr. from the German, *Die Spielereien einer Kaiserin*, by Marie M. Macdonald, N. Y., 1912. Typewritten. L. C.

DREYER, MAX, 1862-

On Probation, tr. from the German, *Der Probe-Kandidat*, by Mary Harned, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 14, No. II, p. 41 ff.

EBNER-ESCHENBACH, MARIE VON, 1830-1916.

Man (A) of the World, dramatic sketch, tr. by Roy Temple House, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 22, p. 128 ff.

ENGEL, ALEXANDER, 1869- , and HORST, JULIUS, 1864- .

Blue (The) Mouse,⁴ a comedy in three acts, ad. from the German by Clyde Fitch. N. R.

Florist's (The) Shop, tr. and ad. from the German, *Glück bei Frauen*, by Oliver Herford, N. Y., 1909. Typewritten. L. C.

Gentleman (The) from the Secession, a farce in one act, copyrighted by Klaw and Erlanger, N. Y., 1915. Typewritten. L. C.

ERNST, OTTO, 1862- (Pseud. for OTTO ERNST SCHMIDT).

Master Flachsmann, tr. by H. M. Beatty, pub. by Duffield & Co., N. Y., 1916.

⁴ Presented at Lyric Theatre, N. Y., beg. Nov. 30, 1908.

FELD, LEO, 1869- , und LEON, VICTOR, 1860-

The Great Name,⁵ ad. from the German by James Clarence Harvey, N. Y., 1911. N. R.

MEYER-FÖRSTER, WILHELM, 1862-

Old Heidelberg,⁶ a sentimental comedy in five acts, Eng. version by R. Bleichmann, London, 1903. N. R.

FRIEDRICH, FRIEDRICH, 1828-1890.

Gone, a drama in three acts, ad. from the German by Ryam Notlag (Pseud. for Mary Galton), 1871. N. C.

FULDA, LUDWIG, 1862-

Blockhead (The), a comedy in five acts, tr. by Jesse Louise Jones, Chicago, 1908. N. C.

By Ourselves, a comedy in one act, tr. from the German by Haya Wally in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 23, p. 1 ff.

— same, tr. by Oscar Leonard, St. Louis, 1907. N. C.

Friends of Youth, a comedy in four acts, tr. by Martin Schuetze, pub. by Avil Printing Co., Philadelphia.

Lost Paradise, drama in three acts, ad. for the American stage by Henry C. De Mille, pub. by Samuel French, N. Y., in *French's International Copyrighted Edition*, Vol. 58, 1897.

Lost (The) Paradise, or Work and Wages, ad. by John A. Fraser, Chicago, 1898. Typewritten. L. C.

Moonbeams, satire in three acts, tr. by Arthur H. Schwarz, N. Y., 1914. Typewritten. L. C.

Our Wives,⁷ farce comedy in four acts, adaptation of *Jugendfreunde*, by Helen Krafft and Frank Mandel, N. Y. Copy-

⁵ Presented for the first time in New York at the Lyric Theatre, Oct. 4, 1911, and was given twenty-one times. Played at Cort Theatre, Chicago, 1910. Cf. *Dramatic Mirror* (N. Y.), Oct., 1911, p. 7. Henry Kotter appeared as star in the leading rôle.

⁶ First presented in this country by Richard Mansfield (Cf. Ayer, Univ. of Col. Studies, Vol. 7, p. 70). Played at Princess Theatre, N. Y., beg. Dec. 18, 1902, rev. Lyric Theatre, N. Y., Oct. 12, 1903, and New Theatre, N. Y., Dec. 19, 1910.

⁷ Direct translation acted by students of the American Academy of Dramatic Art, N. Y. Cf. *Bookman*, Vol. 36, p. 541.

righted by Helen Krafft as a translation from the German, 1911. Typewritten. L. C.

Tête-à-Tête, tr. by E. L. Townsend, in *The German Classics*, Vol. 17, p. 440 ff.

Twin Sisters,⁸ a play in four acts, tr. by Louis N. Parker. London, 1902.

GOERLITZ, KARL, 1830-1890.

Her Only Fault, comeditta in one act from the German by Sydney Rosenfeld, in *De Witt's Acting Plays*, No. 303, N. Y., 1882.

GOETZE, A., 1840-1908.

Heights, tr. from the German by Sasha Best, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 25, p. 1 ff.

GRUENFELD, MAXIMILIAN, 1879-

Feast (The) of Esther, fairy play from the German by Oscar Leonard, Cincinnati, 1911. Printed. L. C.

HALBE, MAX, 1865-

Mother Earth, tr. by Paul H. Grummann, in *The German Classics*, Vol. 20, p. 112 ff.

Rosenhagens (The), tr. by permission of the author by Paul H. Grummann, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 21, p. 1 ff.

When Love is Young, a passion drama in three acts, tr. and ad. by Charles Swickard, Chicago, 1904. Typewritten. L. C.

Youth, tr. by Sarah Tracy Barrows, with an introduction by Ludwig Lewisohn, pub. by Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1916. (In *Drama League Series of Plays*, Vol. 16.)

——— same,⁹ ad. from the German by H. Bernstein, N. Y., 1911.

Youth and Love, tr. by Harry M. Goldberg, N. Y., 1910. Typewritten. L. C.

⁸ Presented at Duke of York's Theatre, London, Jan., 1902.

⁹ Presented at the Bijou Theatre, N. Y., beg. June 8, 1911.

HARDT, ERNST, 1876-

Tantris, the Fool, drama in five acts, authorized English version by Wilhelm Nobbe and J. James, St. Louis, 1909. N. C.

Tristram the Jester, play in five acts, tr. by John Heard, in *The German Classics*, Vol. 20, p. 398 ff., and pub. by Richard G. Badger, Boston, 1913.

HARTLEBEN, OTTO ERICH, 1864-1905.

Hanna Jagert, play in three acts, tr. by Sarah Elizabeth Holmes, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 24, p. 1 ff.

Love's Carnival^{9a} (*Rosenmontag*), a play in five acts, tr. by R. Bleichman, pub. by W. Heinemann, London, 1904, and The Dramatic Pub. Co., Chicago.

HAUPTMANN, CARL, 1858-

Dead (The) are Singing, a play in six scenes, tr. by Mary L. Stephenson in *Texas Review*, Austin, Texas, Vol. 1, p. 250 ff., 1916.

Ephraims Breite, a drama in five acts, tr. by Mary Harned, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 12, p. 465 ff.

War, a play in four acts, tr. by Lionel van Praugh, N. Y. Typewritten. L. C.

HAUPTMANN, GERHART, 1862-

And Pippa's Dances, tr. by Mary Harned, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 18, p. 288 ff. (cf. *Elga*).

Before Dawn, tr. by Leonard Bloomfield, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 20, p. 241 ff. Separately by Richard G. Badger, Boston, 1911.

Coming (The) of Peace,¹⁰ a family catastrophe, tr. by Janet Achurch and C. E. Wheeler, pub. by The Dramatic Pub. Co., Chicago, 1907.

Dramatic Works, edited by Ludwig Lewisohn, pub. by B. W. Huebsch, N. Y., 1913-1916.

Vol. I. Social Dramas:

Before Dawn, tr. by Ludwig Lewisohn.

^{9a} Presented at St. James' Theatre, King Street, London, Mar. 17, 1904.

¹⁰ Presented Sept. 20, 1907, at Ravinia Park, Ill.

Weavers (The), tr. by Mary Morison.
Beaver Coat (The), tr. by Ludwig Lewisohn.
Conflagration, tr. by Ludwig Lewisohn.

Vol. II. Social Dramas:

Drayman Henschel, tr. by Ludwig Lewisohn.
Rose Bernd, tr. by Ludwig Lewisohn.
Rats (The), tr. by Ludwig Lewisohn.

Vol. III.

Reconciliation, tr. by Roy Temple House.
Lonely Lives, tr. by Mary Morison.
Colleague Crampton, tr. by Roy Temple House.
Michael Kramer, tr. by Ludwig Lewisohn.

Vol. IV. Symbolic and Legendary Dramas:

Assumption (The) of Hannele, tr. by Charles Henry Meltzer.
Sunken (The) Bell, tr. by Charles Henry Meltzer.
Henry of Auë, tr. by Ludwig Lewisohn.

Vol. V. Symbolic and Legendary Dramas:

Schluck and Jau, tr. by Ludwig Lewisohn.
And Pippa Dances, tr. by Sarah Tracy Barrows.
Charlemagne's Hostages, tr. by Ludwig Lewisohn.

Vol. VI.

Maidens (The) of the Mount, tr. by Ludwig Lewisohn.
Griselda, tr. by Ludwig Lewisohn.
Gabriel Schilling's Flight, tr. by Ludwig Lewisohn.

Vol. VII.¹¹

Commemoration Masque, tr. by Bayard Quincy Morgan.
Boat of Odysseus, tr. by Ludwig Lewisohn.
Elga, tr. by Ludwig Lewisohn.
Fragments, tr. by Ludwig Lewisohn.

I. *Helios*.

II. *Pastoral*.

¹¹ Advance announcement from the publisher.

Elga,¹² tr. by Edith Terry, N. Y., 1912. Typewritten. L. C.
 ———— same, tr. by Mary Harned in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 17,
 p. 1 ff. Pub. with *And Pippa Dances*, by Richard G. Badger,
 Boston, 1909.

——— same, two closing scenes, in *Cur. Lit.*, Vol. 39,
 pp. 318-22.

Fuhrmann Henschel, tr. by Marion A. Redlich. Pub. by
 Chicago Dramatic Pub. Co., Chicago, 1910.

Griselda, text in English by Alice Kauser, N. Y. Printed
 by the Binghamton Book Mfg. Co., Binghamton, N. Y., 1909.

Hannele,¹³ a dream poem, tr. by William Archer, pub. by
 Heinemann, London, 1898; also in Bates, *The Modern Drama*,
 Vol. 12.

——— same, under title of *Assumption (The) of Han-
 nele*, tr. by G. S. Bryan, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 20, p. 161 ff.

——— same, rendered into English verse and prose by
 Charles Henry Meltzer, pub. by Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden
 City, N. Y., 1908, and in Lewisohn, *Dramatic Works of G. H.*,
 Vol. IV.

——— same, scene from *Death of Hannele*, pub. by
 Edgar S. Werner & Co., N. Y.

Lonely Lives,¹⁴ a drama, tr. by Mary Morison, pub. by
 Heinemann, London, 1898, and The DeWitt Pub. House, N. Y.,
 1898. Also in Lewisohn, *Dramatic Works of G. H.*, Vol. III.

Michael Kramer, tr. by Ludwig Lewisohn, pub. in *The
 German Classics*, Vol. 18, and in Lewisohn, *Dramatic Works of
 G. H.*, Vol. III.

Reconciliation (The), tr. by Roy Temple House, in *Poet
 Lore*, Vol. 21, p. 337 ff., and in Lewisohn, *Dramatic Works of
 G. H.*, Vol. III.

Thieves' Comedy, tr. by Charles John Horne, London, 1905.
 Typewritten. L. C.

¹² Presented in New York, 1915.

¹³ Presented at Lyceum Theatre, N. Y., beg. Apr. 11, 1910; Mrs. Fiske
 starring. For this presentation a translation by Mary S. Safford, with metri-
 cal passages by Percy MacKaye was used.

¹⁴ Presented at Empire Theatre, N. Y., Dec. 11, 1902, and by the American
 Academy of Dramatic Art, N. Y.

Sunken Bell,¹⁵ a fairy play in five acts, freely rendered into English verse by Charles Henry Meltzer, with a critical analysis by F. C. Brown. Pub. by Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1914 (in *Drama League Series of Plays*, Vol. 4); also in Lewisohn, *Dramatic Works of G. H.*, Vol. IV, and in *The German Classics*, Vol. 18.

Sunken (The) Bell,¹⁶ extracts in *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 13, pp. 251-74, 1898, tr. in prose by the editor.

——— same, tr. into prose by Mary Harned, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 10, p. 161 ff.

——— same, abridged, pub. by Edgar S. Werner & Co., N. Y.

Weavers,¹⁷ a drama of the forties, tr. by Mary Morison, pub. by Heinemann, London, 1899; also in Dickinson, *Chief Contemporary Dramatists*, 1915; Lewisohn, *Dramatic Works of G. H.*, Vol. I, and in *The German Classics*, Vol. 18.

——— same, abridged in J. A. Pierce, *Masterpieces of Modern German Drama*, Vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 207 ff. Pub. by Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1915.

HEYSE, PAUL, 1830-1914.

Mary of Magdala,¹⁸ an historical and romantic drama in five acts. The original in German prose. The translation freely ad. and written in English verse, by W. Winter, pub. by The Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1903.

——— same, ad. in English by Lionel Vale, copyrighted by Harrison Grey Fiske, N. Y., 1902. L. C.

——— same, tr. by F. Hess. Typewritten. 1903. L. C.

——— same, from the German by A. I. du P. Coleman, copyrighted by E. Lederer, N. Y., 1900. L. C.

¹⁵ Presented at Hollis Street Theatre, Boston, beg. Dec. 21, 1899; E. H. Sothern and Virginia Harned starring, and at Lyric Theatre, N. Y., beg. Jan. 21, 1907, by Sothern and Marlowe.

¹⁶ Footnote to extracts: "This article is published with the kind consent of P. R. Devis, Esq., of Folkstone, who is the owner of all rights of publication and representation of the play in the English language, and who proposes shortly to publish the authorized metrical English version."

¹⁷ Presented in New York, Dec., 1915.

¹⁸ Presented in New York, 1902, by Mrs. Fiske.

HILLERN, BARONESS VON, 1836-

Eagle Elsa, a romantic drama in four acts, tr. and ad. with the permission of the authoress, by Fred Lyster and L. E. Stowell, 1882. N. C.

HIRSCHFELD, GEORG, 1873-

Mothers (The), tr. with an introduction by Ludwig Lewisoohn, pub. by Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y. (in *Drama League Series*, No. 18), 1916.

HOECKER, PAUL OSKAR, 1865-

Doctor Arnyon's Wife (Die Wappenhaense), ad. from the German by Ainsworth Mitchell. Copyrighted by the International Copyright Bureau, Ltd., London, 1905. L. C.

——— same, under title *The Doctor's Wife*, a play in four acts, tr. and ad. from the German play *Wappenhaense*, copyrighted by Selwyn & Co., N. Y., 1906. Typewritten. L. C.

HOFMANNSTHAL, HUGO VON, 1874-

Ariadne on Naxos, opera in one act, tr. by Alfred Kalisch, copyrighted by Adolph Fürstner, Paris. L. C.

Death and the Fool, drama in one act, tr. by John Heard, Jr., in *The German Classics*, Vol. 17, p. 492 ff.

——— same, tr. from the German with the consent of the author by Elizabeth Walter, pub. by Richard G. Badger, Boston, 1914 (in *Contemporary Dramatist Series*).

——— same, tr. by Max Blatt, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 24, p. 253 ff.

Death (The) of Titian,¹⁰ a dramatic fragment, tr. by John Heard, Jr., in *The German Classics*, Vol. 17, p. 512 ff.

Electra, a tragedy in one act, tr. by Arthur Symons, pub. by Brentano, N. Y., 1908.

——— same, tr. by Alfred Kalisch, pub. by Fred Rullman, N. Y.

——— same, tr. by Chas. T. Mason. N. C.

Madonna Dianora, a play in verse, tr. by Harriet Betty

¹⁰ Presented in New York, 1907.

Boas, pub. by Richard G. Badger, Boston, 1916 (in *Contemporary Dramatist Series*).

Marriage (The) of Sobeide, tr. by Bayard Quincy Morgan, in *The German Classics*, Vol. 20, p. 234 ff.

Rose-bearer (The), comedy for music, tr. by Alfred Kallisch, pub. by Fred Rullman, N. Y.

Venice Preserved, a tragedy in five acts, authorized translation from the German by Elizabeth Walter, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 26, p. 529 ff.

L'ARRONGE, ADOLPH, 1838-

Dr. Klaus, comedy in five acts, tr. and ad. by A. Neuen-dorff, 1878. N. C.

My Boy, a comedy in three acts and six tableaux, a translation and adaptation of *Mein Leopold*, by A. Neuendorff. N. C.

My Son, comedy drama in one act, by Ruth Comfort Mitchell (i. e., R. C. M. Young), N. Y., 1915. Typewritten. L. C.

LAUFS, KARL, 1858-1900.

Crazy Idea, a comedy in four acts, from the German by Maurice Hageman, pub. by the Chicago Dramatic Society, Chicago, 1897 (in *Sergel's Acting Drama*, Vol. 413).

LAUFS, CARL, und KRAATZ, CURT, 1857-

*Are you a Mason?*²⁰ (*Die Logenbrüder*), farce comedy in three acts, ad. from the German by Leo Dittrichstein, N. Y., 1901. Typewritten. L. C.

Are you an Odd Fellow? farce comedy, ad. from the German by W. Brandon, Paola, Kansas.

LINDAU, PAUL, 1839-

Diana, or Father and Son, a play in five acts, tr. by L. J. Frank, N. Y., 1873. N. C.

Maria und Magdalena, a play in four acts, ad. for the American stage from the German original by L. J. Hollenius, pub. by the Chicago Dramatic Society, Chicago, 1874 (in *Sergel's Acting Drama*, Vol. 154).

²⁰ Presented at Shaftsbury Theatre, London, Sept., 1901.

LOTHAR, RUDOLPH, 1865-

The Harlequin King, a play in four acts, by J. Severance, founded upon the German *König Harlekin*. Typewritten. 1906. L. C.

MOSENTHAL, SALMON HERMANN VON, 1821-1877.

Gyda, a play, ad. from the German by J. Schönberg, 1875. N. C.

Leah, the Forsaken, a play in five acts, from the German by Augustin Daly, N. Y., 1886, pub. in author's private edition, 1890.

——— same, tr. from the German by W. Benneux and ad. by Augustin Daly, pub. by Samuel French, London (in Beck Collection, N. Y. Public Library).

Isabella Orsini, a romantic drama in four acts, tr. and ad. to the English stage by Henry L. Williams, to which is added a description of the costumes, pub. in *R. M. De Witt's Acting Plays*, No. 122, N. Y.

MOSER, GUSTAV VON, 1825-1903.

An Artist Taylor, a dramatic composition in four acts, based upon the German, and ad. to the American stage by Hilmar Stephany, Chicago, 1881. N. C.

Arabian (An) Night, or *Haroun al Rachid and His Mother-in-Law*,²¹ a comedy in four acts, from the German by Augustin Daly, N. Y., 1879. Printed as manuscript for the author, 1884. L. C.

<i>Birds of Prey, or Such is Life.</i> ²² <i>Hector.</i> <i>Slave.</i> <i>Uncle Grog.</i> <i>Unreliable.</i>	}	Copyright under English title by Bolossy Kiralfy.	}	N. C.
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Confidential Clerk, ad. by Sydney Wittman and Shedden Wilson.

²¹ Presented at Daly's Theatre, N. Y., for the first time, Nov. 29, 1879.

²² These plays were probably never translated, as merely the titles are copyrighted, as "sole property—for the United States, Canada and Australia."

I Shall Invite the Major, a petite comedy in one act, literally tr. by Sydney Rosenfeld, pub. in *De Witt's Acting Plays*, No. 175, N. Y., 1875.

Lot 49, a farce in one act, from the German by W. J. Fisher, pub. by Samuel French, London (in *Acting Plays*, Vol. 135).

Medium, a comedy in four acts, ad. by R. Rudelius, San Francisco, 1880.

Our Regiment, a farcial comedy in three acts, pub. by Samuel French, London (in *Acting Plays*, No. 132).

Private (The) Secretary,²³ ad. by Charles Hawtrey, pub. by Samuel French, 1884 and 1907 (in French's International Copyrighted Edition of the Works of the Best Authors, No. 111).

———— same, under title *The Secretary*,²⁴ ad. to the American stage by William Gillette, N. Y., 1882. N. C.

———— same, under title *The Librarian*, ad. by H. G. Dresel and E. S. Rheem, Washington, D. C., 1885. N. C.

Ultimo, or *Bulls and Bears*, a comedy in four acts, founded on the German, by Bartley Campbell, San Francisco, 1875. N. C.

———— same, under title *The Big Bonanza*,²⁵ ad. by Augustin Daly, 1875. L. C.

Violet Eater (The), a drama in three acts, mss. prompt book in Beck's Bequest, N. Y. Public Library.

MOSE, GUSTAV VON, and SCHÖNTHIAN, FRANZ VON, 1849-

Passing (The) Regiment,²⁶ a play in five acts, ad. by Augustin Daly, N. Y. Copyrighted 1886. N. C.

MUELLER, HANS, 1882-

Love (The) Coast (Die Blaue Küste), comedy in three acts, ad. by Mrs. Charles A. Doremus. Copyrighted by Carczak Pub. Co., N. Y., 1915. Typewritten. L. C.

²³ Presented in New York, 1884.

²⁴ Presented in New York, 1884, under title of *Digby's Secretary*.

²⁵ Presented at Fifth Avenue Theatre, N. Y., Feb. 15, 1875. John Drew here made his first appearance with Aug. Daly. Cf. Clapp and Edgett, *Plays of the Present*, p. 39. Played at the Strand Theatre, London, 1885, under title *On Change*, or *The Professor's Venture*.

²⁶ Presented at Daly's Theatre, N. Y., beg. Nov. 10, 1881.

MUELLER, HUGO, 1831-1881.

Adelaide, a play in one act, ad. by David Bispham, N. Y., 1897. Typewritten. L. C.

NORDAU, MAX, 1849-

Doctor Kohn, a tragedy of the present day, tr. by Mary Joanna Safford, Washington, D. C., 1899. N. C.

Question (A) of Honor, a tragedy of the present day in four acts, tr. by Mary Joanna Safford, pub. by John W. Luce, Boston, 1907.

Right (The) to Love, authorized edition, tr. by Mary Joanna Safford, pub. by F. T. Neely, N. Y., 1895.

——— same, a drama in four acts, from the German by Emil Blum, Allegheny, Pa., 1892. N. C.

Shackles (The) of Fate, a play in five acts, pub. by Hurst & Co., N. Y., and by F. T. Neely, London and New York (in Neely's Prismatic Library), 1897.

PHILIPPI, FELIX, 1851-

Anonymous, a drama in three acts, ad. by Emily Howard, St. Louis, 1899. N. C.

Great (The) Light, tr. and ad. by Charles Swickard, N. Y., 1903. Typewritten. L. C.

PINSKI, DAVID, 1872.

The Treasure,²⁷ original in Yiddish, was published in German and tr. from that language by Ludwig Lewisohn, pub. by B. W. Huebsch, N. Y., 1916.

ROESSLER, CARL, 1864-

Five (The) Frankforters, comedy in three acts, authorized English version by J. Fuchs, with a preface by the translator *Concerning the Jews of Frankfort*, pub. by H. K. Fly Co., N. Y., 1913.

²⁷ Its original publication was the German translation, presented on the German stage by Max Reinhardt.

ROSEN, JULIUS VON, 1833-1892.

Model (A) Husband, a comedy in four acts, ad. by Adolph Stein, Philadelphia, 1880. N. C.

Oh, these Naughty Men, comedy in four acts, tr. and ad. from *Diese Männer*, by Adolph Neuendorff, 1877. N. C.

Needles and Pins, comedy in four acts, from the German by Augustin Daly, N. Y., 1880. L. C.

Nancy & Co., a comedy in four acts, from the German by Augustin Daly, N. Y., 1884. L. C.

Quits, or A Game of Tit-for-Tat, a comedy in four acts, from the German by Augustin Daly, N. Y., 1881. N. C.

ROSMER, ERNST (Pseud. for ELSA PORGES BERNSTEIN), 1866-

John Herkner, tr. by Mary Harned, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 22, p. 321 ff.

Twilight, tr. by Paul H. Grumann, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 23, p. 369 ff.

SALTEN, FELIX, 1869-

Love (The) of Life, ad. from the German *Der Ernst des Lebens*, by Jos. H. Neebe, Chicago, 1910. Typewritten. L. C.

SCHNITZLER, ARTHUR, 1862-

Anatol,²⁸ a sequence of dramatic dialogues, paraphrased for the English stage by Granville Barker, pub. by Mitchell Kennerley, N. Y., 1911.

——— same, *Scenes from Anatol*, in *Green Book Magazine*, Vol. 8, pp. 818-24, Nov., 1912.

——— same, extract from *Anatol*, tr. by W. H. H. Chambers, under title *Questioning the Irrevocable (Die Frage an das Schicksal)*, in Bates, *The Modern Drama*, Vol. 12, p. 329 ff., London, 1903.

Duke (The) and the Actress, tr. by Hans Weysz in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 21, p. 257 ff.

²⁸ Presented for the first time in America, on the American stage under title *Affairs of Anatol*, at the Little Theatre, N. Y., Oct. 14, 1912; at Palace Theatre, London, Mar., 1911, and also at the Little Theatre, London, Mar., 1911.

Gallant Cassian, a puppet-play in one act, tr. from the third edition of the original by Adam L. Gowans, copyrighted by Gowans & Gray, Ltd., London, 1914.

Green (The) Cockatoo,²⁹ *Paracelsus*, and *Companion (The)*, in one volume, tr. by Horace B. Samuels, pub. by Gay & Hancock, London, 1913, and by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1913.

Green (The) Cockatoo, tr. by Horace B. Samuels, in *The German Classics*, Vol. 20, p. 289 ff.

Hour (The) of Reckoning, a comedy of words. English by Pierre Loving, in *International Magazine*, Vol. 10, p. 167 ff.

*In the Hospital*³⁰ (*Die letzten Masken*).

Lady (The) with the Dagger, tr. by Helen Tracy Porter, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 15, No. II, p. 1 ff.

——— same, as *Woman with the Dagger*, tr. by Horace B. Samuels, in *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 91, p. 1179 ff.

——— same, abridged in *International Magazine*, Vol. 4, p. 92 ff.

Legacy (The),^{30a} tr. by Mary L. Stephenson, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 22, p. 241 ff.

——— same, sketch in *N. Y. Dramatic News*, Vol. 55, March, 1912.

Light-o'-Love, a drama in three acts, tr. by Bayard Quincy Morgan, pub. by the Chicago Dramatic Pub. Co., Chicago, and in *The Drama*, No. 7, p. 14 ff., 1912.

——— same, under title *Playing with Love*, tr. by P. Morton Shand. The prologue to *Anatol*, by Hugo von Hofmannsthal, rendered into English verse by Trevor Blakemore, pub. by Gay & Hancock, London, 1914.

——— same, under title *The Reckoning*,³¹ drama in

²⁹ Presented at the Lyceum Theatre, N. Y., beg. Apr. 11, 1910, but the version used was made by Philip Littell.

³⁰ Presented at Court Theatre, London, Feb. 28, 1905, under the Vedrenne-Barker management.

^{30a} Presented at the Empire Theatre, N. Y., Mar. 14, 1912. Matinee of American Academy of Fine Arts.

³¹ Presented at Berkeley Lyceum Theatre, N. Y., beg. Feb. 12, 1907, under title *Flirtation*, also at Berkeley Theatre, by the Progressive Stage Society and at His Majesty's Theatre, London, May, 1909.

three acts, from the German by Grace Isabel Colbron, N. Y., 1907. N. C.

Literature, a comedy in one act, tr. by A. I. Du Pont Coleman, in *The German Classics*, Vol. 20, p. 332 ff.

———same, tr. by Pierre Loving, in *International Magazine*, Vol. 9, p. 330 ff.

———same,³² tr. by Elsie Plaut. N. R.

———same, under title *The Literary Sense*, tr. and ad. by Charles Harvey Genung, copyright by Walter N. Lawrence, N. Y., 1908. N. C.

Living Hours, tr. by Helen Tracy Porter, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 17, p. 36 ff.

———same, under title *Vital Moments*, abridged in *The International Magazine*, Vol. 3, pp. 7-9, Dec., 1910.

Lonely Way; Intermezzo; Countess Mizzi, three plays, tr. by Edwin Björkman, with an introduction by the translator, pub. by Mitchell Kennerley, N. Y., 1915.

Märchen, Das,³³ English version by C. E. Wheeler and Granville Barker.

Professor Bernhardt, a comedy, adaptation in English by Mrs. Emil Pohli, pub. by P. Elder, San Francisco, 1913.

Wife (The), (*Die Gefährtin*), pub. in abbreviated form in *Current Literature*, Vol. 39, p. 553 ff., Nov., 1905.

SCHÖNHERR, KARL, 1867-

Faith and Fireside, tr. by Edmund von Mach, in *The German Classics*, Vol. 16, p. 418 ff.

SCHÖNTHAN, FRANZ VON, 1849-1912.

Dorrits (The), a comedy in three acts, by Margaret Mayo, from the German play by F. v. S., founded upon Dickens' *Little Dorrit*, N. Y., 1909. Typewritten. L. C.

Kettle (A) of Fish, a farcial comedy in three acts, pub. by Walter K. Baker, Boston, 1890.

³² Presented by the Washington Square Players, New York, 1915, also at Madison Square Theatre, N. Y., Jan. 13, 1908.

³³ Presented by the Adelphia Society at the Little Theatre, London, Feb., 1912.

Last (The) Word, a comedy in four acts, from the German by Augustin Daly, N. Y., 1890. N. C.

Marie Theresa, a play in four acts, tr. by J. H. Sprange, copyrighted by Selwyn & Co., N. Y., 1907. Typewritten. L. C.

Military Mad,³⁴ a comedy in three acts, from the German by Leo Ditrichstein. N. R.

Night (A) Off,³⁵ or *A Page from Balzac*, a comedy in four acts from the German by Augustin Daly, pub. by Dick & Fitzgerald, N. Y.

Nobody's Fault, or *The Child of Marshalsea*, a play in three acts, copyrighted by Selwyn & Co., N. Y., 1906. Typewritten. L. C.

Professor's (The) Play, or *The Kidnapping of the Sabine Women*, a comedy in four acts, tr. by Ludmilla Krueger, Alameda, Cal., 1898. N. C.

——— same, under title *The Sabine Women*, from the German by Augustin Daly, N. Y., 1884. N. C.

Seven-Twenty-Eight,³⁶ or *Casting the Boomerang*, a comedy in four acts, from the German by Augustin Daly, pub. by Dick & Fitzgerald, N. Y.

——— same, under title *The Hurly-Burly*, or *Seven-Twenty-Eight*, a farcial comedy in three acts, altered and ad. for the English stage by H. Hendricks, pub. by Samuel French, London (in edition of *Acting Plays*, Vol. 124).

SCHÖNTHAN, FRANZ VON, and KADELBURG, GUSTAV, 1851-

Railroad (The) of Love, a comedy in four acts by Augustin Daly, N. Y., 1887. L. C.

SCHÖTHAN, FRANZ VON, and MOSER, E., 1863-

Lancers (The), a comedy in three acts, from the German by J. Hartley Manners, N. Y., 1907. Typewritten. L. C.

³⁴ Presented at the Garrick Theatre, N. Y., Sept. 5, 1904.

³⁵ First presented at Daly's Theatre, N. Y., March 4, 1885.

³⁶ First presented at Daly's Theatre, N. Y., Feb. 24, 1883.

SCHÖNTHAN, FRANZ VON, and OESTERREICHER, RUDOLF, 1881-
Miss Patsy, or Der dumme August, ad. by Sewell Collins,
 copyrighted by Henry W. Savage, N. Y., 1909. Typewritten.
 L. C.

STEIN, LEO WALTER, 1858- , and HELLER, LUDWIG, 1872-
House (The) Next Door, an adaptation from the German,
 suggested by *Die von Hochsattel*, by J. Hartley Manners, pub.
 by Walter H. Baker, Boston, 1912.

STEIN, LEO WALTHER, and SOEHNGEN, ERNST.
Affair (The) of the Barracks, English version of *Kasernen-
 luft*, a play in four acts, ad. by C. M. S. McLellan, copyrighted
 by Lieber & Co., N. Y., 1911. Typewritten. L. C.

STRAMM, AUGUST.
Bride (The) of the Moor, authorized translation by E. G.
 O'Brien in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 25, p. 499 ff.

Sancta Susanna, or The Song of a May Night, authorized
 translation by E. J. O'Brien, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 25, p. 514 ff.

STRATZ, RUDOLPH, 1864-
Countess (The) Valeska,³⁷ American adaptation of *Der
 lange Preusse*, a romantic drama in four acts.

SUDERMANN, HERMANN, 1857-
Battle (The) of the Butterflies, play in four acts, tr. by
 Arthur H. Schwarz, copyrighted by Chas. Kraus, N. Y., 1914.
 Typewritten. L. C.

Good (A) Reputation, play in four acts, tr. by Margaret
 Holz and Olga Marz, N. Y., 1915. Typewritten. L. C.

Honor,³⁸ tr. by Hilmar R. Banghage, with a preface by
 Barrett H. Clark, pub. by Samuel French, N. Y., 1915, in
French's Standard Library Series.

Man (The) and his Picture,³⁹ (*Sodoms Ende*).

³⁷ Presented at Knickerbocker Theatre, N. Y., beg. Jan. 10, 1898.

³⁸ Presented at Criterion Theatre, N. Y., Jan. 26, 1905, by the American
 Academy of Dramatic Art.

³⁹ Presented at Great Queen Street Theatre, London, Mar. 8, 1903.

Johannes, tr. by W. H. Harned and Mary Harned in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 11, p. 161 ff.

———— same, under title *John*, a drama in five acts and an introduction, tr. by Nelly Margaret Baumann and Gertrude Parker Dingee, Chicago, 1902. Typewritten. L. C.

———— same, under title *John the Baptist*, abridged in John A. Price and Brander Matthews, *Masterpieces of Modern Drama*, Vol. 2, p. 250, pub. by Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1915.

———— same,⁴⁰ tr. by Beatrice Marshall, pub. by John Lane & Co., N. Y., 1909, and in *The German Classics*, Vol. 17, p. 168 ff.

Joy of Living,⁴¹ a play in five acts, tr. by Edith Wharton, pub. by Scribner Sons, N. Y., 1913.

Magda,⁴² tr. by Charles Edward Amory Winslow, pub. by Lamson Wolfe & Co., Boston and N. Y., 1896, and by Samuel French, N. Y., under title *Home*.

———— same, English version by Count Bonzenta.

———— same, English version by Louis N. Parker.

———— same, new translation by Claude Sykes, Eastbourne, Devonshire Park, Dec. 12, 1907. N. R.

———— same, under title *The Argument of Magda* (not in dramatic form), English argument by E. Beall Ginty, pub. by F. Rullman, N. Y., 1896.

Morituri, three one-act plays, *Teja*, *Fritzchen*, *The Eternal Masculine*,⁴³ tr. from the German by Archibald Alexander, pub. by C. Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1910.

⁴⁰ Presented at Lyric Theatre, N. Y., beg. Jan. 21, 1907, by Sothern and Marlowe.

⁴¹ Presented Oct. 23, 1902, by Mrs. Patrick Campbell at Garden Theatre, N. Y., and New Theatre, London, June 24, 1903.

⁴² "The English version was played by Helena Modjeska and Mrs. Patrick Campbell. During season of 1901-1902 Mrs. Campbell appeared as 'Magda' on the occasion of her first tour of America. The first actress to undertake the part in English was Mme. Modjeska, in a version prepared by her husband, Count Bonzenta. In Feb., 1899, Mrs. Fiske gave a few performances of *Magda*, at Fifth Avenue Theatre, N. Y., and in 1901-1902, Mrs. Patrick Campbell made the Louis N. Parker version a prominent feature of her repertory." Cf. Clapp and Edgett, *Plays of the Present*, p. 168 f., also presented Jan. 13, 1902, at the Republic Theatre, N. Y.

⁴³ *Fritzchen*, played in English in America, 1914.

——— same, *Teias*, tr. by Mary Harned, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 9, p. 331 ff.

——— same, *Fritschen*, tr. into English, pub. by the Yale University Dramatic Society, New Haven, Conn.

On Approval, an episode in two scenes from *Das hohe Lied*, dramatized by Alison M. Lederer, N. Y., 1913. Typewritten. L. C.

Roses, four one-act comedies, *Streaks of Light*, *Margot*, *The Last Visit*, *Far Away Princess*, tr. by Grace Frank, pub. by Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1913.

——— same, *Far Away Princess*, pub. by Samuel French, N. Y.

Saint John's Fire, a drama in four acts, tr. by Grace E. Polk, pub. by the H. W. Wilson Co., Minneapolis, 1905.

——— same, play in four acts, tr. and ad. by Fernanda Eliscu, N. Y., 1905. Typewritten. L. C.

——— same, tr. by Charlotte Porter and H. C. Porter, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 15, No. IV, p. 1 ff.

——— same, under title *Fires of St. John*,⁴⁴ a drama in four acts, tr. and ad. by Charles Swickard, pub. by J. W. Luce & Co., Boston, 1904.

Three (The) Heron's Feathers, tr. by Helen Tracy Porter, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 1 ff.

Vale of Content,⁴⁵ tr. by William Ellory Leonard, pub. in J. H. Dickinson, *Chief Contemporary Dramatist*, 1915.

What Money Cannot Buy, a drama in four acts, ad. from a play of H. S. by Maurice Magnus, Berlin, 1906. N. C.

THOMA, LUDWIG, 1867-

Moral, a comedy in three acts, tr. by Chas. R. Recht, pub. by A. A. Knopf, N. Y., 1916.

——— same, under title *Morality*, from the German by Herman Bernstein, N. Y., 1909. Typewritten. L. C.

⁴⁴ Presented for the first time on the American stage at Columbia Theatre, Boston, Jan., 1904, and at Daly's Theatre, N. Y., beg. Nov. 28, 1904, by Nance O'Neil. Revived at Daly's Theatre, 1908.

⁴⁵ "Its only known English performance has been at Miss Horniman's Gaiety Theatre." (Cf. Dickinson, *Chief Contemporary Dramatists*, p. 666.)

TORGE, ELSE, 1885-

Judgment (The) of Solomon, drama in four acts and an interlude, tr. by Thekla M. Bernays, St. Louis, 1914. Typewritten. L. C.

VOSS, RICHARD, 1851-

Alexandra, a drama, tr. from the German and ad. to the English stage by W. L. Hubbard, Chicago, 1888. N. C.

Daniel Danieli, drama in four acts, ad. by Sara M. Friedman, Winnetka, Ill., 1912. Typewritten. L. C.

Guilty, a drama in three acts, tr. and ad. by Ruth C. Mitchell (i. e., Ruth C. Mitchell Young). Five Islands, Me. Typewritten. L. C.

Miracle (The), a legend drama in four acts, tr. and ad. by Marie Walsh and Mary J. Safford, N. Y., 1906. N. C.

Vera Varces, a drama, ad. from the German by Ethel Guernsey, N. Y., 1890. N. C.

WEDEKIND, FRANK, 1864-

Awakening (The) of Spring, tr. by Francis J. Ziegler, pub. by Brown Brothers, Philadelphia, 1909.

Court (The) Singer, play in one act, tr. by Albert Wilhelm Boesche, in *The German Classics*, Vol. 20, p. 361 ff.

Earth Spirit, a tragedy in four acts, tr. by Samuel A. Eliot, Jr., pub. by A. & C. Boni, N. Y., 1914.

Pandora's Box, a tragedy in three acts, tr. by Samuel A. Eliot, pub. by A. & C. Boni, N. Y. (in *The Glebe*, Vol. 2, No. 4).

Such is Life, tr. by Francis J. Ziegler, pub. by Brown Brothers, Phila., 1912.

Tenor (The), as *The Heart of a Tenor*, ad. by André Tridon, in *The Smart Set*, June, 1913.

Virgin (The) and the White Slaver, play in one act, ad. by André Tridon, N. Y., in the *International Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 10, Oct., 1913. L. C.

WEILEN, JOSEPH, 1828-1889.

Agramahra, a tragedy in five acts, from the German by H. Bernstein, and ad. for the English stage by Mattilda Heron, 1871. N. C.

WIEGAND, JOHANNES, 1874-

Bachelor's Will, comedy in three acts, ad. from the German by Amelia von Ende, N. Y., 1910. Typewritten. L. C.

Last (The) Trick, sea drama in one act, authorized translation by Amelia von Ende, N. Y., 1904. L. C.

Power, social drama in four acts, authorized adaptation by Amelia von Ende, N. Y., 1910. Typewritten. L. C.

WIEGAND, JOHANNES, and SCHARRELMANN, WILHELM, 1875-

Wages (The) of War, tr. by Amelia von Ende, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 19, p. 129 ff.

WILBRANDT, ADOLPH, 1837-1911.

Daughter (The) of Fabricius, a drama in four acts, tr. by Ludmilla Krüger, copyrighted by Marian F. Delanoy, Alameda, Cal., 1898. N. C.

Master (The) of Palmyra, tr. by Harriot S. Oliver, in *Poet Lore*, Vol. 13, No. 2, p. 1 ff.

——— same, a dramatic poem in five acts, tr. by Charles Wharton Stork, in *The German Classics*, Vol. 26, p. 10 ff.

——— same, drama in five acts, tr. by Charles Gordon, copyrighted by Blanche Walsh, Brooklyn, 1899. N. C.

——— same, tr. by Blanco and Guido Marburg, N. Y., 1909. Typewritten. L. C.

——— same, under title *The Love of Life*, ad. from the German by E. Cayley, copyrighted by Lillie Cayley Robinson, Hamburg, 1904. N. C.

Messalina, an improved tragedy in five acts, tr. and ad. from *Arria und Messalina*, copyrighted by P. Salisbury, N. Y., 1877. N. C.

Thusnelda,⁴⁶ drama in one act, Englished by Deborah K. Janowitz, N. Y., 1911. Typewritten. L. C.

WILDENBRUCH, ERNST VON, 1845-1909.

Barseba of Rabenstein, a play in four acts, English version by Richard von Appiano and Wilhelm Nobbe, pub. by Frederick Printing and Stationery Co., St. Louis, 1909.

⁴⁶ Presented at Carnegie Lyceum, N. Y., Apr. 19—for Miss Annie Russell. Cf. Ayer, U. of Col. Studies, Vol. 7, p. 69.

Bird in the Cage, ad. for the American stage by Clyde Fitch.

Harold, tr. by Otto Heller, done in English verse by Hugh A. Clarke, pub. by Richard G. Badger, Boston.

King Henry, a drama in four acts and a prologue (first part of Henry IV of Germany), tr. by Robert M. Wernaer, in *The German Classics*, Vol. 17, p. 10 ff. and in *The Drama*, No. 17, Feb., 1915.

WITTENBAUER, FERDINAND, 1857-

Filia Hospitalis, tr. for the Yale University Dramatic Association, by Prof. Farr, 1909.

ZIEGLER, KLARA, 1844-1909.

Playing with Fire, elaborated from the German one-act farce, *Furcht vor der Schwiegermutter*, by Joseph Henry Neebe, Chicago, 1910. L. C.

THE GERMAN DRAMA ON THE ST. LOUIS STAGE.

BY

ALFRED H. NOLLE,
University of Missouri.

PREFACE.

This account of the German drama on the St. Louis stage is intended to form a contribution to the history of Americana Germanica. It is based essentially on material gathered at first hand from the files of the German newspapers published in St. Louis contemporaneous with the stage in the various phases of its existence. For the period 1835-1898 the *Anzeiger des Westens* was used as the primary source; from 1890-1914, the *Westliche Post* and its Sunday edition, the *Mississippi Blätter*. These were supplemented by other contemporaneous German and English papers of St. Louis and in several instances by the *Deutsche Pioneer* of Cincinnati and the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*. The files of the newspapers are in most instances complete. They present gaps from October 21, 1838, to October 29, 1841; October 11, 1843, to October 18, 1844; October 23, 1848, to October 20, 1849; October 20, 1851, to April 19, 1852; October 20, 1852, to April 18, 1853; April 21 to October 19, 1860; October 20, 1861, to April 22, 1862; October 21, 1862, to July 20, 1863, and in several isolated instances individual issues are missing. The narrative history of the stage for the periods represented in these gaps has been gleaned from other sources, but statistical material as to the repertories for the period cannot be collected. If records for the period represented by the several gaps are extant, diligent search has failed to locate them. They are not to be found in the several libraries in and about St. Louis, including the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri in Columbia, Missouri, and the excellent German library in Belleville, Illinois, nor in the Library of Congress.

Heinrich Börnstein in his memoirs¹ treats in some detail the period of his activity on the St. Louis stage and to a certain

¹ *Fünfundsiebzig Jahre in der alten und neuen Welt, Memoiren eines Unbedeutenden*. Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1881.

² *St. Louis in früheren Jahren. Ein Gedenkbuch für das Deutschtum*. St. Louis: A. Wiebusch und Sohn Printing Company, 1893.

extent the period preceding his activity. E. D. Kargau in his *St. Louis in früheren Jahren*² devotes fifteen pages to a sketch of the German stage prior to 1893. At the time of the opening of the Germania Theater the souvenir programs for the initial performance contained a brief account of the stage, which was substantially reprinted in the *St. Louis Tribune* for September 1, 1892. The *Anzeiger des Westens* for July 12, 1897, reprinted that part of an address on "Die deutsche Bühne in Amerika," which dealt with the St. Louis stage, made by Ferdinand Welb before the "Deutsch-Amerikanischer Lehrerbund" convened in Milwaukee. This account, as Welb professed, is taken almost verbatim from Börnstein's Memoirs. Subsequently the *Mississippi Blätter* for July 2, 1899, and March 14, 1909, printed historical sketches of the German stage in St. Louis. These, the last of which was compiled by Welb, are based upon Börnstein's Memoirs and Kargau's account, supplemented by a brief account of the occurrences postdating the appearance of Kargau's book. They are popular articles full of inaccuracies. They give no idea as to what was actually performed on the stage. The *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* for October 5 and 12, 1902, contains an account of "Die deutsche Bühne im Westen," by Carl Pletz, which takes into account the St. Louis stage, but, necessarily, considering the wide field the article covers, in very brief compass. Of these several accounts of the stage only one, the Memoirs of Börnstein, was a real help; the others were suggestive and helpful in outlining the history of the stage, but, due to their inaccurate or sketchy nature, had to be used with caution.

All values are in the last analysis relative values. To gain a conception of the literary value of the St. Louis stage during the various phases of its existence, its history has, therefore, been divided into five periods. On the basis of these a statistical survey of the literary complexion of the several stages has been made. The statistical material on which such estimates are based is added in the *Appendix*. The division of the history of the stage as a basis for establishing comparative values is not, however, an arbitrary division. The divisions represent natural and logical periods in its development.

I. 1842-1859.

THE BEGINNINGS.

The first German theatre in St. Louis dates from the year 1842. In the summer of 1842 Rudolf Riese, an actor of ability, originally from Berlin, in the course of a variegated existence, became stranded in St. Louis. A number of young Germans, on becoming acquainted with the man and his plight, sympathized with him in his embarrassment. Money these for the most part poor clerks and business apprentices did not have to offer the stranded actor. But out of a desire to aid him they encouraged him to arrange a series of theatrical performances for his benefit. To this end they offered their assistance as dilettantes. The result was the first performance of a German drama in St. Louis.³ For a record of this first performance we are indebted to the facile pen of Heinrich Börnstein.

"Die jungen Leute gingen zu einem deutschen Wirte, dessen Gasthaus an der dritten Strasse zwischen Pine und Olive den Schild: 'Zum Bremer Schlüssel' trug, und mieteten dessen oberes Lokal, einen langen Saal, der als Speisezimmer bei Hochzeiten oder anderen festlichen Gelegenheiten benutzt wurde;—aus Zimmermannsböcken und Brettern wurde eine Noth-Bühne improvisirt, und so weit diese reichte, wurden die weissgetünchten Wände des Saales von einem Zimmermaler zu einem Walde umgepinselt—für die Scenen, die im Zimmer spielten, wurden billige Tapeten zu Couliissen und einer Hinterwand zusammengeklebt und der Vorhang bestand aus zwei zusammenge nähten Bettdecken; —ein paar Holzstühle und ein Tisch bildeten das Ameublement der Zimmer-Dekoration. Mit diesen Dekorationen

³ Historically authenticated interest in the German drama on the St. Louis stage dates from the year 1838. "Am 21. September '38 trat der erste Schauspieler in St. Louis, Icks (vom Königsstädter-Theater in Berlin), auf und declamirte während der Zwischenacte den Monolog aus 'Wallenstein's Tod.' Da noch kein deutsches Theater existirte, so fand dieses Ereigniss auf den Brettern des alten St. Louis Theaters (amerikanisch) statt und scheint von Erfolg gekrönt gewesen zu sein; wenigstens trat der Künstler noch an verschiedenen Abenden auf."—*Der deutsche Pionier* (Cincinnati, 1871), III. 275.—The innovation had, however, no immediate consequences in introducing German drama permanently on the St. Louis stage.

wurden als erste Vorstellung Schiller's 'Räuber' aufgeführt; —den Thurm, in welchem der alte Moor gefangen sitzt, hatte der kunstsinnige Zimmermaler so täuschend hergestellt, dass er aussah wie ein riesiger Gughupf; —da kein Lehnstuhl für den alten Moor aufzutreiben war, so wurde eine alte Waarenkiste genommen und eine Wand derselben bis zur Sitzhöhle herausgesägt, die dadurch gewonnenen Brettchen dann als Sitz auf Leisten genagelt, das ganze mit einem Bettuche überzogen und der Lehnstuhl des alten Grafen war fertig. Hatte sich nun irgend ein Muthwilliger den Spass gemacht, oder was es Zufall, genug, ein Zipfel des Bettuches hatte sich in den Strick des Verhangs verschlungen, —die Vorstellung ging los, die vier Mann im Orchester hatten eine Ouverture herungtergestrichen, der Souffleur gab das Glockenzeichen und der Vorhang rollte in die Höhe. Aber mit ihm ging zugleich das Bettuch hinauf, der Lehnstuhl, in dem der alte Moor sass, wurde dadurch rücklings umgeworfen und ein heilloses Gelächter begrüßte diesen tragi-komischen Anfang. Der Vorhang musste unter stürmischer Heiterkeit wieder heruntergelassen werden und erst als Alles auf der Bühne wieder in Ordnung war, nahm die Vorstellung ihren Verlauf; —da keine Schauspielerin aufzutreiben gewesen war, so wurde die 'Amalie' ganz herausgestriken; es wurde nur von ihr gesprochen, aber sehen bekam man sie nicht. Die Räuber-Statisten, lauter junge Volontärs, waren viel zahlreicher als die Darsteller, sie hatten alle ihre Revolver und Jagdgewehre mitgebracht und bei der Räuberscene im dritten Akt wurde so furchtbar drin geschossen, dass der ganze Saal dick mit Pulverdampf angefüllt war und ein undurchdringlicher Nebel herrschte, durch welchen die Talg-Lichter der Beleuchtung wie rothe Pünktchen schimmerten. Den fünften Akt wollte aber Riese nicht spielen, wenn er nicht eine Amalie, wenigstens zum Todstechen, habe; endlich musste die Köchin des Wirths ein weisses Kleid anziehen, sich die Haare auflösen und in den dichten Pulvernebel auf Riese zustürzen, worauf dieser mit den betreffenden Worten seiner Rolle sie erstach und als die arme Köchin nicht gleich umfiel, sie mit der Faust niederschlug. Von den letzten Akten hatte man des Rauchs wegen fast nichts mehr gesehen und auch, da das ganze Publikum fürchterlich hustete, wenig gehört; am Schlusse jedoch wurden alle Mitwirkenden mehreremale stürmisch gerufen,

worauf die ganze Einnahme unten in der Wirthsstube verkneipt wurde. Die Zeitungen jener Zeit haben uns die Namen jener Männer aufbewahrt, die damals die erste deutsche Theatervorstellung in St. Louis ermöglichten,—den 'Karl Moor' spielte Riese; den 'Franz' John D. Hill, ein bekannter Holzhändler; 'den alten Moor' Heinrich Fischer;—Hippo Krug, später einer der populärsten Wirthe der Stadt, spielte den 'Schweizer' und den 'Hermann' dazu; Georg Bressler von Belleville den 'Schufterle' und Block, von der späteren sehr geachteten Firma Block und Evers den 'Spiegelberg.'—Die Vorstellung, die im vollsten Sinne des Wortes Sensation machte, musste nicht nur in St. Louis wiederholt werden, sondern der Ruf derselben war auch nach dem benachbarten Belleville gedungen und Riese wurde eingeladen, mit seiner Gesellschaft hinüber zu kommen und die 'Räuber' aufzuführen. So wurden denn die 'Räuber' mit derselben Besetzung auch in Belleville aufgeführt, und da kein Orchester aufzutreiben war, so zog Hippo Krug, wenn er auf der Bühne seinen 'Schweizer' und 'Hermann' verarbeitet hatte, einen Domino über sein Costüme, lief ins Publikum, wo vor der Bühne ein Klavier stand, und spielte darauf die Zwischenakts-Musik, wobei ein Herr Ochs mit Es-Clarinetten und ein Herr Daun mit der Violine ihn accompagnirten. Nach der Vorstellung wurde wieder die Nacht hindurch die Einnahme verkneipt und als es Tag wurde, hatte keiner der Darsteller auch nur einen Heller, um nach St. Louis zurückfahren zu können;—da erbarmte sich ihrer der Bierbrauer Gottfried Busch, liess seinen grossen Bierwagen anspannen, lud die ganze Gesellschaft hinauf und führte sie unentgeltlich nach St. Louis zurück." ⁴

Encouraged by the success of his venture, Riese, who, in the newspaper advertisements announcing his performances, styled himself "früherer Direktor der deutschen Oper zu Philadelphia und Direktor des deutschen Theaters in New Orleans," announced a series of performances under his directorship in "Rankens Lokal," at irregular intervals dating from July 2 to October 29, 1842. The exact date of the memorable *Räuber* performance is not recorded. The programs of these half dozen performances,

⁴ *Memoiren* II, 240 ff.

including the initial *Räuber* performance, were made up of the following plays: *Die Räuber* und *Der Eckensteher Nante im Verhör* each three times, *Die Braut* and *Die Himmelfahrt eines Säufers* twice each, and *Der Nachtwächter* and *Die Seelenwanderung* once each. These plays were announced anonymously. Usually two or three of the shorter plays were given at one performance, as was regularly the custom followed in the numerous Volkstheater, which made their appearance a decade and a half later, and in the Liebhabertheater, which occupied the intervening period.

The theatre established by Riese⁵ was short-lived. It could lay little claim to artistic or dramaturgical excellency. But it deserves recognition because it was epoch-making in the cultural history of the German element of St. Louis. From it may be traced the history of the institution, which, thru the vicissitudes of more than seven decades, has without serious interruption, but with varying degrees of fortune continued to the present day to fulfill a cultural mission.

The period in the history of the German stage in St. Louis beginning with Riese's venture in 1842 till the establishment of the St. Louis Opernhaus, the first permanent theatre, in 1859, constitutes *the period of the beginnings*. Attempts to establish a German theatre on a professional basis during the period proved ineffectual and short-lived. German theatricals during the greater part of this period rested in the hands of amateur or semi-professional organizations, in which one or several professional actors usually formed the nucleus, around which a group of dilettantes concentrated their efforts. The number of dilettantes who in the midst of their work-a-day activities could find leisure to study rôles and take part in theatricals was not a large one, yet among the young men of that day there was a sufficient number of adequate talent to meet the requirements of a Liebhabertheater, who

⁵ Riese imposed upon his St. Louis friends to such an extent that they were glad to rid themselves of him. They collected money with which to send him to Philadelphia where he was engaged as baritone in an Italian opera company. Under the name of Benedetti he sang in Italian opera for several years in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and other cities, until he lost his voice. He died in 1859 in the Poor House on Blackwells Island, New York.

showed willingness to take part. In consequence it was always possible for a professional actor or director coming to the city to find ample support to enable him to engage in his profession.

Of the Liebhabertheater to follow in the wake of Riese's venture the first to be organized was opened September 16, 1843, under the directorate of Christian and Louise Thielemann. Thielemann and his wife were both experienced actors. Mme. Thielemann (Louise Ehlers), prior to her marriage, had been engaged at the royal theatre in Kassel. Both had played in New York and New Orleans. They subsequently became theatre directors in Chicago. The principal amateurs coöperating with them were Christian Kribben, a well-known lawyer; his brother Wilhelm, a Mississippi River pilot; Benkendorf, a journalist; Herman Aschenbach, Julius Büchel, A. U. Ross (Post-Ross), Henry Lischer, Wilhelm Mackwitz, Hippo Krug, and Georg Reichard and wife. The Thielemanns played with this organization for three successive winter seasons, with occasional performances in the summer of 1845. The directorship of the society, with the second season, however, passed into the hands of John D. Hill, a dilettante who had played under Riese. The season 1845-1846 closed May 11. A season of post-season performances followed, for charitable purposes, at irregular intervals, ending December 12, 1846. Performances during the three years of the existence of this Liebhabertheater had been bi-weekly. During the first season of its existence performances were held "im Salon der Hrn. Angelbeck und Linkemeier," at Third and Walnut Streets; during the last two seasons in the Vaudeville Theatre at 24 North Main Street. The price of admission was fifty cents for single performances, one dollar and fifty cents for six performances by subscription.

Following the last of these performances there was a lull in German theatricals for more than a year, until this same group of amateurs reorganized December 7, 1847, under the presidency of Adolph Abels, into the Thalia Gesellschaft. The purpose of the new society was not only to institute amateur theatrical performances, but also to arrange balls and other social gatherings for the benefit of its members and friends. Its theatrical per-

formances differed from those of the Liebhabertheater which had preceded it in that only amateurs were to take part and that only members of the society and their friends were to be admitted to the performances, tho exception was made to the latter rule on evenings especially set aside for the entertainment of the public. The Kribben brothers continued to be the spirit and soul of the new organization. It opened its first season January 5, 1848, in a building at the corner of Main and Pine Streets. Performances were usually given weekly on Wednesday evenings. The price of admission for non-members varied between twenty-five and fifty cents.

With the second year of its existence the Thalia Gesellschaft was reorganized as the St. Louis Sängerbund. With the reorganization of the society debates and declamatory exercises became its chief activity, to the exclusion of German theatricals, for several years to follow.

In the spring of 1851 Xaver Strasser, accompanied by his wife, two daughters and stepson, all actors by profession, came to St. Louis. Supported by local amateurs, among whom Adalbert Löhr especially distinguished himself, Strasser on the 7th of April opened a Liebhabertheater in the "Tontine," on Second Street near Elm. After several performances there he built and moved into a summer theatre in what was then Arsenal Park. Strasser proved a failure as a director. His theatre in the "Tontine" had promised well. But his summer theatre—"eine grosse dunkle, nur mit wenigen Luftlöchern versehene Bretterbude"—proved a fiasco from the start. It came to an abrupt close August 24, whereupon the Strasser family at once left the city.

Strasser's ill-fated attempt as director was followed by another lull which lasted until the dramatic talent of the St. Louis Sängerbund again became active. From February till May, 1852, the Sängerbund gave biweekly performances in the old Washington Hall. From December, 1852, till the spring of 1853 it performed occasionally in the Varieties Theatre, in the People's Theatre and in the Bates Theatre.

In 1850 there was called to editorial leadership of the *Anzeiger des Westens* a man who more than any other one man

of his day was instrumental in the cultural and educational uplift of the German element of St. Louis. "Bildung ist Macht" was his watchword. He was instrumental in organizing the Freie-Männer-Verein which established German schools for boys, and evening and Sunday classes for grown people. In connection with Franz Schindt he established a school for girls. He lectured extensively on a variety of topics and even taught, for a time, in the girls' school he had helped to establish. Thru the *feuilleton* columns of the *Anzeiger*, of which he became sole proprietor in May, 1851, and thru his aggressive and somewhat sensational policy made the most widely circulating German newspaper in the West, especially in the Sunday edition, the *Westliche Blätter*, and thru the publication in book form of a library of German *belles lettres* he disseminated much wholesome literature among his fellow-countrymen. This man, Dr. Heinrich Börnstein,⁶ had come to America with a varied and rich experience, not only as a journalist, but more especially as an actor and impresario and playwright. In the course of his long and busy life of four score and seven years his varied career launched him into diverse fields of activity, but the lure of the stage constantly attracted him in one capacity or the other. His old friend and journalistic colleague, Emil Klauprecht, writing his necrolog from Vienna, says of him, "Wer Börnstein's Charakter, seine Naturanlagen, geistige Eigenschaften und Temperament mit einem Wort bezeichnen soll, wird ihn ein Theaterkind in der vollsten Bedeutung des

⁶Börnstein, whose father, prior to his marriage, had been a successful actor, was born in Hamburg, November 4, 1805. At the age of ten he was taken to Lemberg, in Austrian Poland. After having studied for a year at the University of Lemberg he, in 1821, entered the Austrian army, in which he served for five years. In 1826 he studied medicine in Vienna, and at the same time did editorial work for Carl Eduard Reinold. From 1826-1827 he worked for Bäuerle on the "Theaterzeitung." From 1827-1828 he was secretary of the combined Josephstadt Theater and the Theater an der Wien, under Carl. For several years following he served as stage manager in several of the leading cities of Germany and Italy. In 1841, with his wife, whom he married in 1829, he performed with success in star engagements in the leading German cities. The following year he went to Paris, where he became manager first of the German Opera, later of the Italian Opera. During the revolutionary days of 1848 he was engaged in journalistic and literary pursuits in Paris. With the return of Bonaparte to power as dictator, Börnstein, the enthusiastic advocate of political freedom, early in 1849 emigrated to America. After a short stay in Highlands, Illinois, where he did efficient service as physician during an epidemic of cholera, he accepted the editorship of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, March 8, 1850.

Wortes nennen. Bis zum Ende ist er ein solches geblieben, es lag in seinem Blute, seiner Erziehung und den Umgebungen seiner Jugend." ⁷ Börnstein believed in the stage as a great cultural and educational and moral force. He writes in his *Memoiren*, "Die beste Schule der Erwachsenen, die wahre Bildung für das Volk, bietet immer die Schaubühne und Wahrheiten, die in Büchern nur zur Kenntniss von Wenigen gelangen, dringen von dem Podium des Theaters aus, schnell und tief in die Massen und fassen feste Wurzeln. Die beste Schule des Volkes ist und bleibt eine gute Bühne und die Aufführung von Lessings 'Nathan der Weise,' von Schillers 'Don Carlos,' von Goethes 'Faust' und 'Egmont' verbreitet mehr geniale Ideen und hebt und veredelt die Massen mehr als alle Bücher- und Katheder-Weisheit und alle Kanzelberedsamkeit." ⁸ He had early entertained the desire of giving to St. Louis a German stage that should take rank with the best in Germany, but wisely realized the necessity of making a small beginning and gradually working up to the desired goal. "Es war mein heissester Wunsch, in St. Louis ein deutsches Theater zu gründen, aber die . . . Schwierigkeiten, besonders der Mangel an guten deutschen Schauspielern stellten meinen Wünschen unübersteigliche Hindernisse entgegen;—ja es mussten noch viele Jahre vergehen, ehe ich an die Realisirung eines wirklichen stabilen deutschen Theaters denken konnte. Das Höchste, das im damaligen Augenblicke erreichbar war, waren demnach Dilettanten-Vorstellungen; aber bessere, sorgfältiger vorbereitete und künstlerischer geleitete Dilettanten-Vorstellungen, als man bisher zu sehen gewohnt gewesen war." ⁹

To the end he had in view Börnstein in 1853 organized the Philodramatische Gesellschaft. He found for his purpose among his friends and acquaintances a number who showed promise, with proper training, of developing into good actors, who enthusiastically embraced his cause and volunteered their services. What they lacked in innate histrionic ability had to be made up by diligence and enthusiasm. At first Börnstein himself and his

⁷ *Anzeiger des Westens*, October 9, 1892.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, II, 222.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, II, 223.

talented wife had to bear the burden of work in the new organization. Börnstein acted as stage manager and acted in the rôles of bon vivant and comic character. Under stress of necessity it even became necessary for him in several instances to depart from his accustomed line to play the part of fool or jeune premier. Mme. Börnstein—Marie Stelzer, in her youth a danseuse trained under the eye of the French ballet master, Beauval—performed with much success as soubrette of the organization. The first season offered difficulties to the stage manager. To adequately fill the rôle of leading lady (*Salon-Liebhaberin*) presented a problem. Volunteers were not lacking. But none in the environment of the unsophisticated new world had had opportunity to acquire the necessary acquaintance with the life which they were supposed to interpret. The male contingent of the organization were willing workers, but the busy life of a growing Western metropolis did not always afford the necessary leisure for memorizing the parts assigned them with the precision demanded by an exacting stage manager. But the really capable dilettantes under the professional guidance of Börnstein and his wife gained in attainment from performance to performance. The second season brought the acquisition of a very valuable asset in a young Austrian physician, Rudolf Gussmann, who had emigrated to America on account of political banishment from his native country. Gussmann possessed marked histrionic talent and literary ability. He for this season assumed the rôle of leading gentleman (*Salon-Liebhaber*) which Börnstein had found difficult to fill to his satisfaction. The second season also profited by the acquisition of two professional actors who had become stranded in St. Louis, Carl Stein, a character actor of repute, and his talented wife, who later became directress of the German Theatre in San Francisco.¹⁰

¹⁰ Those recorded as taking part in the performances of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft in addition to those mentioned above were: Messrs. Albert, Aschenbach, Assmann, A. S. Börnstein, Büchel, Gayer, Gensis, Ferdinand Klünder, Christian Kribben, Leonhard, Lischer, Müller, Nebel, Preytner, Schmidt, Hermann Schröder, Stierlin, Thomas, Warnecke, Wild; Mmes. Charton, Frimmel, Koser, Kröger, Müller, Novaak, Schiller, Schlesiger, Schröder; child parts—Carl Börnstein, Kl. Fuchs, Georg Hoffmann, Kl. Meckel.

The efforts of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft met with an enthusiastic and appreciative response on the part of the German public from the start. On the opening evening of the first season two plays from the pen of Börnstein were presented in the Varieties-Theatre, located on Market Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets, one of the largest theatres in the city, before an audience which crowded the house. The first of these plays, a five-act *Lustspiel*, *Betrogene Betrüger*, was later performed with distinct success more than twenty times in Vienna and became a favorite in the repertory of many stages in Germany; the second, a "Lebensbild aus dem Deutsch-Amerikanertum" entitled *Deutsche Einwanderung und deutsche Gesellschaft*, became part of the repertory of practically every German dilettante stage in the United States at that time. This initial success augured well for the future of the organization. It played weekly for four winter seasons with growing artistic success. Houses were reported good, even in bad weather. During the winter of 1854-1855 the organization suffered competition at the hands of a company managed by Benrodt, which the latter recruited largely from the ranks of a company to which he had belonged, which had been brought to St. Louis from Louisville in the summer of 1854 by Julius Bötzwow for a series of performances beginning July 3. The keen rivalry that existed made the Philodramatische Gesellschaft more determined to put forth their efforts. In consequence a professional stage attempting to play three times per week, entailing the expenses of salaried players, after a short-lived season beginning November 20, had to succumb by the middle of February to the superior performances of their competitors, whose popularity made it possible for them to utilize the larger Bates Theatre after Benrodt had got possession of the Varieties. It spelled failure for Benrodt to attempt to stage plays beyond the possibilities of his limited ensemble. What he lacked in quality he attempted to make up by use of the sensational. His advertisements for Goethe's *Faust*, for example, contained the comment, "Zum Schlusse des Stückes Fausts Höllenfahrt! Erster Tableau mit Brillant Feuerwerk!" The *Anzeiger des Westens*, Börnstein's paper, echoes the rivalry between the two stages. In

a review of a performance of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft that is typical it says:

“Es ist interessant und für die Darsteller anregend, vor einem solchen gebildeten, empfänglichen und kunstsinnigen Publikum zu spielen, und die stets gedrängt vollen Häuser bei der Aufführung einfacher Lust und Schauspiele stehen im erfreulichen Contrast zu jenem Treiben, wo mit ellenlangen Zetteln und Trommlern und Trompeten und Geigern und Pfeifern auf den Ankündigungen, Göthes und Schillers Meisterwerke zusammengestrichen, verstümmelt und verhunzt von anderthalb Schauspielern und einem Dutzend Statisten vor leeren Bänken herabgeleiert werden. Der Kuntsinn des hiesigen deutschen Publikums hat sich abermals glänzend bewährt, es hat bewiesen, dass es sich keinen Sand in die Augen streuen und sich nicht durch grosse Annoncen und atemlose Puffs verblüffen lässt, sondern richtiger Weise eine gerundete, naturgetreue und von einem lebendigen Geiste durchwehte Darstellung eines guten Lust—oder Schauspieles einer ‘Höllenfahrt mit Brillant-Feuerwerk’ oder irgend einen ‘grossen Banditen’ vorzieht. Wir kennen unser deutsches Publikum hier und sind stolz darauf und eben darum auch nur laden wir uns alle die Mühen und Plagen, die Opfer und Anstrengungen auf, die die Organisation und Aufrechthaltung einer Dilettanten-Bühne unabweislich mit sich bringt.”¹¹

The Philodramatische Gesellschaft during the first three seasons of its activity donated the net proceeds of its performances to charitable purposes. Its announcement states: “Das Privat-Interesse hat mit diesen Vorstellungen gar nichts zu thun, —im Gegenteile müssen alle Darsteller, mit Vernachlässigung ihrer eigenen Geschäfte, Opfer an Zeit, Mühe und selbst Geld bringen;—aber sie thun es gern, weil es dem doppelten Zwecke gilt; den Geschmack und Sinn für deutsche Kunst hier zu heben und gute und nützliche Anstalten befördern zu können.”¹² The Deutsche Einwanderungsgesellschaft, the Deutsche Frauenverein—organizations designed chiefly to aid newly arrived immigrants—the Freie Gemeinde in New Bremen, the German Orphan

¹¹ *Anzeiger des Westens*, February 22, 1855.

¹² *Anzeiger des Westens*, January 15, 1854.

Home and similar institutions were the chief beneficiaries. With the fourth season the plans of the organization and consequently the financial obligations of the members became more pretentious. It therefore avowedly became a professional organization, announcing that henceforth the proceeds of the performances would be divided among the performers on a pro rata basis according to degree of service rendered. For the organization was at no time to become a private enterprise, but to be conducted on a republican basis.

With the termination of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft the Liebhabertheater may be said to have played their rôle in the history of the German stage in St. Louis. During the winter of 1857-1858 the St. Louis Turn Verein gave regular Sunday performances. During subsequent seasons the newspapers continue to announce performances by one or the other Turn Verein or other organization. But such performances in time became more and more occasional. They did not always please the directors of the regular professional German stage, for they kept away from the regular theatre many who would otherwise have attended. As late as 1909 one of the directors of the professional stage took occasion in a brief historical sketch of the German stage in St. Louis, submitted to the *Mississippi Blätter* (March 14, 1909) to lodge such a complaint, saying, "An Liebhabertheatern war nämlich auch in den sechziger Jahren ebensowenig ein Mangel, wie in dem jüngsten Jahrzehnt, in welchem sie als Anhängsel von Gesang- und Turnvereinen den jeweiligen Theater-Unternehmern bald grösseren, bald geringeren pekuniären Schaden zugefügt haben."

The first attempt to establish a German theatre after the cessation of activities by the Philodramatische Gesellschaft was made by Ed. Herrmann. October 28, 1856, he instituted a German stage in the Varieties Theatre. Herrman mysteriously disappeared after the second performance, whereupon Robert A. Wolff reopened the theatre November 30. His company included six former members of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft—Assmann, Klünder, Schmidt, Stierlin, Mme. Koser und Mme. Novack. Other members of the company were Dardenne (a

comedian, formerly director of the Stadttheater in Augsburg), Düringer and Fredeking (from the Volkstheater in Chicago), Bernhard Meissner, Steinberg (from New Orleans), Mmes. Marie Dardenne, Meissner and Maria Wolff. Wolff played with varying fortune till March 8, when he gave up the directorship. The company then played under direction of a committee appointed from its members until April 13. During the latter period Carl Stein and Lola Montez played with the company in starring parts, the former as Shylock in a performance of *The Merchant of Venice*, the latter in four performances of *Lola Montez in Bayern*. The non-success of the season was due chiefly to an attempt to perform three times weekly in plays beyond the capacity of a limited ensemble. Wolff made efforts to fill the gaps in the ranks of his company. But the country offered no supply of available actors from which to recruit them.

The performances of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft had served the purpose they had been designed to attain—namely, to awaken an interest in the German theatre. But thru lack of a director who would live up to standards artistically sufficiently exacting to immediately follow up the work of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft, the Volkstheater soon usurped the field. The interest in German theatricals which had been aroused was soon capitalized by the proprietors of summer gardens and beer halls. The first of these Volkstheater to follow in the wake of the activities of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft was opened in Ruedi's Volksgarten, on Second Street between Mulberry and Lombard Streets, on Sunday, August 2, 1857. During the winter of 1857-1858 Ferdinand Klünder attempted to rehabilitate the German stage in the Varieties Theatre. Klünder's company contained good material. In its ranks were included Robert Gilbert (villain and character rôles, from the Stadttheater in Philadelphia), Anton Föllger, Bötzw, Louis Pelosi, Carl Worrett (stage director, from Chicago), Assman and Stierlin (formerly of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft) and Mmes. Bötzw, Meissner and Maria Pelosi. During the first part of the season Kronfeld, from the Hoftheater in Darmstadt, and during February Schunch and his wife, of the Deutsches Theater in Cincinnati, performed

with the company in starring parts. Mme. Börnstein appeared with the company from time to time. She played without compensation, solely in the interest of art. But Klünder's venture, due to various causes, was not a success. Occasionally the performances, especially those given with the aid of the visiting players, reached a plane which won words of commendation from the pen of the critic. Lack of coöperation on the part of the players, however, and the attendant insufficient rehearsals—the critic ofttimes had occasion to find fault on the score of poorly memorized or poorly interpreted parts—caused the performances in many instances to suffer by comparison with those of the *Philodramatische Gesellschaft*, to which the newspapers constantly refer as the high-water mark in German theatricals in the city up to that time. Klünder's stage therefore did not attract the patronage of those who could afford a good theatre. Moreover, the season was one of financial depression generally. "Shinplaster" was accepted far below par. The great mass of the people flocked to the inexpensive *Volkstheater*, where the price of admission was usually advertised as "10 cents, wofür ein Glass Bier verabreicht wird," or where admission was free as an inducement to the public to come spend their money with the proprietor of the beer hall or garden with which the stage was connected, and where a dance usually followed the performance. During the summer of 1857 and the ensuing winter, in competition to Klünder's enterprise, the theatre in Ruedi's *Volksgarten* usually played three times weekly. The level of performances of the *Volkstheater* which the economic situation of the people had helped make popular soon shaped popular taste and created a demand for such performances. During the summer of 1858 the theatre in Ruedi's *Volksgarten* played daily, and three other German stages—the *Deutsches National Theater*, established in *Flora Garten*, on South Seventh Street, May 22, by Gilbert and Schunck, the one in the *Tyroler Halle*, at 2 Carondelet Avenue, and the *St. Georges Theater*, on DeKalb Street between Barton and Victor—less frequently, the first two usually three times per week, the latter on Sundays. During the winter of 1858-1859 the *Volkstheater* brought the number of German stages in St. Louis up to eight.

Of these one, representing an attempt by Jules Bonent to establish a first-class stage in the Varieties Theatre, with prices at fifty, thirty-five and fifteen cents, proved short-lived. Of the Volkstheater those in Ruedi's Volksgarten, in Flora Garten, and in the St. Louis Stadt Theater (formerly Bechner's Varieties), on Fifth Street between Morgan Street and Franklin Avenue, usually announced daily performances. The others advertised irregularly or not at all, but usually played several times weekly or daily. The theatre in Flora Garten, admission to which was usually twenty-five cents, was the only one which received occasional recognition from the newspapers outside the advertising columns. A contributor to the *Anzeiger des Westens* for December 24, 1858, appraises it as ranking first among the eight stages playing at that time. During the summer of 1859 the number of German theatres in St. Louis reached fifteen. Most of these were ephemeral. Changes in management and personnel were frequent in all. Notice of them disappears entirely with the establishment of the first permanent German theatre in St. Louis, in September, 1859, with the exception of a series of performances in Flora Garten from November 21, 1860, to March 31, 1861, under the management of Emil Höchster and O. Schadt.¹⁸ The theatres in Ruedi's Volksgarten and in Flora Garten, and the one conducted by Alexander Pfeiffer in Apollo Garten, on Fourth Street between Poplar and Plum, from May 23 to September 5, 1859, were resuscitated after the disturbances attending the Civil War had terminated the permanent German theatre established in September, 1859, but only the Apollo Garten Theater was destined to flourish. It played winter and summer with but slight interruption under frequent change of management thru the winter season 1890-1891.

If we stop to view in perspective the development of the stage during this period of the beginnings, the performances of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft, from the standpoint of dramatur-

¹⁸ The Flora Garten ensemble for this season consisted of Messrs. Schöne, Mühl, Hafner, Beekier, Werber, Petersen, Weber, Seifert, Eugen; Mmes. Schadt-Meaubert, Taraskiewicz, Mühl; Mlle. Weber, and Lina Burgk (child parts).

gical excellency, stand out as the high-water mark. The Philodramatische Gesellschaft wisely limited its efforts to the class of plays commensurate with the capacity of its ensemble. Under the guidance of Börnstein, a man of indefatigable energy, who in business circles had the reputation of getting the maximum of work out of his employees,¹⁴ the performances of the society gained unstinted praise in press reports. Most of the comment on the stage of this period must be gleaned from the columns of Börnstein's paper. Its relative validity is in a measure attested, however, by the fact that subsequent critics oftentimes take the performances of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft as the basis for comparative judgment in estimating later performances. Other stages statistically show a larger per cent of plays of literary worth presented, but such plays were usually given with limited ensemble, or by amateurs who lacked the guidance of the experienced artist. Press comment upon the plays of the Liebhabertheater preceding the activity of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft was usually favorable, but it was avowedly so "mit Berücksichtigung der Verhältnisse."¹⁵

II. 1859-1861.

THE ST. LOUIS OPERNHAUS.

When Börnstein, due to the pressure of business activities which demanded his time and attention, relinquished his interest

¹⁴ Cf. William Hyde, *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis* (New York, Louisville, St. Louis: The Southern History Co., 1899), I, 44.

¹⁵ A statistical survey of the plays produced on the several stages during the various periods in the history of the German drama on the St. Louis stage will indicate the relative character and literary value of the several stages. For comparative purposes the statistical survey of the several stages for the period of the beginnings and for subsequent periods is arranged in tabulated form in the appendix following the narrative portion of this work. For the period of the beginnings the repertoires of the various amateur theatres, including the Turnverein performances, are included in the statistical survey; for the period after 1859, only performances on the several professional stages. Opera performances are included where they form a part of the repertory of a regular German stage.

in the Philodramatische Gesellschaft, he announced that it was his intention to relinquish permanently his professional interest in the stage. But opportunity needed but present itself to induce the actor and impressario of eighteen years' experience on the European stage to change his mind. The Varieties Theatre property had not been a paying investment to its owners. It was accordingly sold at a bargain to two public-spirited citizens of St. Louis, Captain Eads and Mr. Dickson, whose purpose it was not to make money out of the new investment, but to save the property to St. Louis for the purpose for which it had been built. They had the building renovated and approached Börnstein with the proposal to take over the management thereof. Börnstein acquiesced. He placed the editorial columns of his paper in the hands of his friend, Dr. Charles L. Bernays, an experienced journalist who had emigrated to America with him, and the management of the technical details of the paper in the hands of his eldest son. He was thus enabled to devote the major part of his time to the new venture, which, tho destined to be short-lived, was to give St. Louis the best permanent theatre it had yet had, and after its suspension, was to have for some years to follow. The St. Louis Opernhaus represents the first *Blütezeit* of German theatricals in St. Louis.

Börnstein announced his aims and intentions with reference to the new undertaking in a series of articles in the columns of his paper. They are contained essentially in an excerpt from the first of them:

“Es ist uns dabei vor Allem darum zu thun, den richtigen Standpunkt festzustellen, den eine deutsche Bühne in St. Louis einnehmen kann und soll und zugleich das Verhältniss dieser Bühne zum Publicum und umgekehrt, näher zu beleuchten. Wir wollen hier nicht in die vielbesprochene Frage eingehen, ob die Bühne eine Notwendigkeit für den Bildungsgang und das gesellige Leben eines Volkes sei, wir wollen hier nicht den Einfluss derselben auf Pflege und Entwicklung der nationalen Literatur und Kunst hervorheben, wir wollen uns einfach mit der praktischen Frage beschäftigen: ‘Ist ein deutsches Theater in St. Louis ein

Bedürfniss und kann es daher bestehen?' Die eigentliche Lösung dieser Frage kann nur durch ein Experiment, durch die Erfahrung gebracht werden und wir können nur von anderen, namentlich von europäischen, Theater-Verhältnissen, ziemlich unsichere Schlüsse ziehen. In Deutschland hat eine Stadt, die 12-15,000 Einwohner zählt, ein Theater, das über der Mittelmässigkeit steht und Städte von 30-50,000 Einwohnern haben eine gute, stabile Bühne mit Oper and Schauspiel. St. Louis hat eine deutsche Bevölkerung von 60,000 Köpfen, und diese Bevölkerung ist durchschnittlich wohlhabender und zugleich lebenslustiger, als die gleiche Bevölkerungszahl irgend einer grossen Stadt in Deutschland. In Deutschland haben Städte wie Hamburg, Bremen und Wien vier bis fünf grosse Theater, die Sommertheater in den Umgebungen gar nicht gerechnet. Nun unser St. Louis hat in diesem Sommer an fünfzehn Sommertheater des verschiedensten Calibers gehabt und wenn die Unternehmer, ihrer grossen Unkosten halber, auch keine Schätze sammelten, so zeigte sich doch von Seite des Publicums ein lebhafter Besuch und eine grosse Theaterlust. Alles wäre sehr ermutigend, wenn—die Erfahrung vergangener Jahre nicht wäre. Ausser der philodramatischen Gesellschaft, die stets volle Häuser hatte, die aber auch nur 10 bis 20 Vorstellungen in einem ganzen Winter gab, haben alle folgenden regulären Theater-Directionen theils höchst mittelmässige, theils absolut schlechte Geschäfte gemacht. . . .

"Bei einer Bevölkerung von 60,000 Menschen sollte man doch, selbst bei ganz bescheidener Stützung, fünf Procent als Theater-Publicum anschlagen können; das gäbe von 60,000 Deutschen drei tausend Theaterbesucher. Nun denn, wenn von diesen drei tausend jeder Einzelne nur einmal in der Woche das Theater besucht, so kann eine gute deutsche Bühne hier bestehen; wenigstens ist ihr dann ein Stammpublicum gesichert und die Fremden und Durchreisenden und jene unregelmässigen Theaterbesucher, die nur bei besonderen Gelegenheiten ins Theater gehn, müssen dann den etwaigen Ausfall decken. Unsere Leser werden gestehen, dass wir sehr bescheidene Anforderungen an die Unterstützung des Theater-Publicums machen und dass man

glauben sollte, diese Wünsche und ihre Erfüllung lägen im Bereiche der Möglichkeit und würden sich wohl verwirklichen. Wir wünschen und hoffen es, denn sonst hätten wir die Aufgabe nicht unternommen, mit deren Lösung wir uns jetzt beschäftigen, wir haben von Anfang an das feste Vertrauen gehabt, dass die deutsche Bevölkerung von St. Louis ihr eigenes deutsches Theater haben und erhalten könne, und in diesem Vertrauen haben wir gehandelt.

“An abrathenden und warnenden Stimmen hat es nicht gefehlt; Männer, die wir zu unseren wahren Freunden zählen, widerrieten uns ein deutsches Theaterunternehmen zu beginnen, sie stellten uns vor, wie wir unbedingt viel bessere Geschäfte machen müssten, wenn wir uns nicht bloss auf einen Theil des Publicums beschränkten, sondern, wie die amerikanischen Theater, auf das ganze Publicum, Amerikaner und Deutsche, Irländer und Engländer, speculirten. Wir gestanden ihnen zu, dass sie Recht hätten, und dass wir als Geschäftsmann unzweifelhaft sicherer und vorteilhafter speculiren würden, wenn wir heute eine italienische Oper und morgen ein englisches Schauspiel, diesen Monat die Ravels und im nächsten die Martinettis vorführten, aber wir bemerkten zugleich, dass der Gedanke . . . in St. Louis eine stabile, gute, deutsche Bühne zu begründen, uns viel verlockender sei, dass wir diesem Gedanken und diesem Wunsche schon früher vier Jahre angestrengter Bemühungen mit der philodramatischen Gesellschaft geopfert hätten und dass wir nun, wo Mittel und Unterstützung, wo die Zahl der darstellenden Kräfte und die Theaterlust des Publicums gestiegen seien, ernst entschlossen wären, wenigstens einen ernstesten Versuch zur Durchführung dieser unserer Lieblingsidee zu machen und weder Mühen, noch Opfer zu scheuen, um sie zu realisiren.

“Das Publicum kennt somit unsern Standpunkt als Theaterunternehmer, es ist nicht Speculationstrieb, nicht Gewinn sucht, die uns leiten, denn der Gewinn eines Theaterunternehmers hier ist noch immer ein sehr problematischer gewesen und obenein ‘haben wir zu leben,’ wie man im gewöhnlichen Leben zu sagen pflegt, und diese Zeitung giebt uns so sichere und so reichliche Erträgnisse, dass wir uns wohl

damit bescheiden können. Wir wollen also bei dem Theaterannehmen nicht reich werden, wir sind sogar, in den ersten Jahren wenigstens, auf Opfer gefasst, und wenn wir uns diese Opfer und mehr noch die ungeheure Mühe und Arbeit, die eine Theater-Direction mit sich bringt, aufladen, so geschieht es, um in dem deutschen St. Louis ein deutsches Theater herzustellen und fest zu begründen, das der Zahl, der Stellung, der Bildung und dem Einflusse unserer deutschen Bevölkerung entspricht."¹⁶

It goes without saying that in a period of heated political controversy a man of the prominence of Börnstein, to whom political plotting was second nature, who in the columns of his paper had undertaken to rule the rising emancipation movement, should at the instigation of political animosity in unfriendly quarters have the sincerity of his motives questioned. But his contention that his was not a money-making scheme, but a pursuit in the interest of art and culture at least, the sequel of events does not disprove.

Börnstein leased the former Varieties Theatre, which he now called the St. Louis Opernhaus, for a period of ten years. He at once had an extensive theatrical library containing the best classics and contemporary plays forwarded to him from Vienna and Leipzig. He had a goodly supply of necessary stage scenery painted by a capable Austrian stage painter, Ferdinand Kurz. From a stranded Italian opera company he acquired a copiously stocked wardrobe more pretentious than that of most of the smaller court theatres in Germany. His ensemble was recruited from the best talent available in the country in so far as it was not permanently engaged in New York. In addition to Börnstein himself and his talented wife, the ensemble included such first-rate talent as Alexander Pfeiffer, actor of heroic and character parts; Karoline Lindemann, character and mother parts, and Julius Ascher, comedian and character actor.¹⁷ The first two,

¹⁶ *Anzeiger des Westens*, August 28, 1858.

¹⁷ The other members of the ensemble were Adolphi, by-parts; Wilhelm Berben, villain and comic parts; Ehnler, by-parts, servants; Fortner, leading comedian (part of first season); Anton Föllger, jeune premier; Julius Grossmann, leading gentleman, bonvivants, comic parts; Emil Höchster, gallants,

who had appeared in New York, the *Almanach der deutschen Bühnen in Amerika* lauded as the best talent on the New York stage at the time of their appearance there.¹⁸

Pfeiffer had enjoyed extensive reputation and high rank as an actor in Germany. Expression of liberal political views had led to a difference with the manager of the theatre at Mannheim, Baden, which determined him to emigrate to this country. Mme. Lindemann (née Müller) had received her tutelage under Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer in Zürich and had afterward scored a triumph in Darmstadt. Ascher had appeared successfully in Berlin. The members of the ensemble were all engaged for a period of eighteen months. It was Börnstein's plan to play summer and winter without interruption. In announcing his plans he wrote:

"Ein Theater, zu dem jedes Mal bei Beginn des Winters ein Dutzend Schauspieler und Schauspielerinnen zusammengetrommelt werden, die sich nicht kennen und verstehen, die dann über Hals und Kopf in ein Noth-Repertoire hineingestürzt werden, um, wenn sie anfangen sich zusammenzuspielen und ein Ensemble zu bilden, wieder entlassen zu werden, sobald der Frühling und die ersten Schwalben kommen,—ein solches one-horse-concern haben wir in Europa nie geführt und möchten es auch hier nicht. Dieses Exploitiiren einer Winter-Saison, ohne alle Rücksicht auf höhere Kunstzwecke, könnte uns nicht befriedigen. Können wir hier nicht ein stabiles und gutes deutsches Theater herstellen, womit wir jetzt den Versuch beginnen, so bleibt uns nichts übrig, als die deutsche Bühne hier, wenn auch mit Bedauern, ihrem Schicksale zu überlassen und unser Theater in anderer Weise, gleich den übrigen amerikanischen Theatern auf das Möglichst-Beste zu verwerthen."¹⁹

naive parts; Kinklin, by-parts; Arthur Kampmann, gallants; Louis Menschke, servants, by-parts; Friedrich Röpenack, character and villain parts, fathers; Schwan, fathers and character parts; G. W. Stierlin, comedian; Wilson, Walter, Schüler, by-parts; Mlle. Börnstein, jeune premiere, by-parts; Mme. Alwine Dremmel, jeune premiere, by-parts; Mlle. Halenz, jeune premiere, by-parts; Mme. Rohardine Otto, leading lady; Mme. Louise Riedel, comic old women; Mme. Pfeiffer, mothers and comic old women. The complete personnel of the theatre, including property master and assistants, numbered about forty.

¹⁸ Heinrich Schmidt, *Almanach der deutschen Bühnen in Amerika* (New York: G. B. Teubner, 1860), I, 14 ff.

¹⁹ *Anzeiger des Westens*, September 4, 1859.

The St. Louis Opernhaus was formally opened September 15, 1859. In order to afford time for the new theatrical company to assemble and hold necessary rehearsals the German theatrical season proper was prefaced by a series of twenty opera performances by Signora Parodi's Italian Opera Company. The company, which included as principals the prima donnas Teresa Parodi and Karline Alaino, the tenor Giovanni Sbiglia, the baritone F. Gnone and the basso N. Barili, was pronounced by critics to have been superior to that of Strakosch and others which had previously visited St. Louis. It presented *La Traviata* four times, *Polinto* three times, *Il Trovatore*, *Lucia di Lammermoore*, *Norma*, *Ernani* and *Lucrecia Borgia* each twice, and *La Favorita*, *Rigolette* and *Il Babiere di Siviglia* each once.²⁰

The theatrical season opened October 1 with a performance of Goethe's *Egmont*. Performances were given daily. The season promised well. The repertory presented showed that the director was working toward the artistic and cultural goal he had set before him. The hundredth anniversary of Schiller's birth was commemorated in the Opernhaus by a series of Schiller's plays. His *Räuber*, *Kabale und Liebe*, *Fiesco*, *Maria Stuart*, *Wallensteins Tod* and *Wilhelm Tell* were presented on November 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 respectively. The series was prefaced November 5 by a performance of Laube's *Karlsschüler*. Excepting a Sunday performance of Hersch's *Anna Lisa*, three classic

²⁰ Signora Parodi's Company returned to the St. Louis Opernhaus December 27 for a series of performances, at which the following operas were given: *Norma*, *La Traviata*, and *Don Giovanni*, each twice; *Il Trovatore*, *Lucia di Lammermoore*, *Lucrecia Borgia* and *Polinto*, once. Later in the season the French opera company from New Orleans with Mme. Dalmont-Messmacre as prima donna, Demoiselle D'Arcy as soubrette, M. Philippe as tenor, gave a number of performances which alternated with the German theatrical performances. In April, 1861, Madame Colson's Italian Opera Company gave a series of performances in the Opernhaus. The company included the prima donnas Pauline Colson and Miss Kellog, the tenor Brignoli, the baritone Ferri and the basso Susini. Later the pantomime and ballet company Siegrist—Zanfretta with a large corps de ballet and excellent danseuses, and finally Anna Bishop with her concert company, appeared on the stage of the Opernhaus to lend the season variety.

plays—*Faust*, *Jungfrau von Orleans* and Moreto's *Donna Dianna* (German by West)—attracted the largest audiences during the initial months of the season. These plays formed part of a series of eighteen performances in which Antonie Grahn, formerly of the Hoftheater in Darmstadt, later of the Stadt Theater in New York, appeared in starring parts, such as Gretchen, Ophelia, Julia, Johanna, Maria Stuart and Donna Dianna. She received unstinted praise for her work, in which she received first-rate support from Pfeiffer in rôles such as Faust and Hamlet, Mme. Lindemann as Martha, Föllger as Romeo, and Börnstein as Perin in *Donna Dianna*. Beginning with February the company had the support of Heinrich Kronfeld, of the Hoftheater in Darmstadt, in a number of performances. He excelled in comedy. He proved to be a drawing attraction, as Mme. Grahn had been.

But the unhappy political and attending economic conditions of the time militated against the realization of Börnstein's plans. As the performances grew in dramaturgical excellence and gained in the estimation of the critics, the attendance decreased. Constrained by the necessity of attracting a full house, Börnstein was forced to strive after that which was designed for effect. In March and April, 1860, he staged fourteen performances of *Der Zauberschleier*, *romantisch-komisches Feenspiel mit Gesang und Tanz*, an adaptation from Scribe by F. X. Told. In September and October of the same year he staged twenty-four performances of Raimund's *Barometermacher auf der Zauberinsel*, and in November nine performances of a local *Scherzspiel* by Told called *Liebelien in Cincinnati*, *Neckereien in St. Louis* und *Fopereien in Carondelet*. But such performances were not staged at the sacrifice of quality. With reference to the performances of the *Zauberschleier*, a contributor to the *Anzeiger* wrote: "Hat sich unser Opernhaus-Theater in Bezug auf Darstellung bis jetzt schon den ersten Platz in Amerika erobert, so tritt es mit den letzten Aufführungen des Zauberschleiers auch in jeder anderen Beziehung in die Reihe der grossen Theater ein, und St. Louis darf stolz auf ein Institut sein, das auf die Beurtheilung des

hiesigen deutschen Elements auf das Vortheilhafteste zurückwirken muss." ²¹

And commenting upon the Liebeleien performances, a critic wrote: "Wir dürfen es dreist aussprechen, dass die Direktion mit der Nothwendigkeit, eine Reihe voller Häuser zu schaffen, aufs Neue in einer Weise entledigt, die wieder einmal den von uns schon ausgesprochenen Satz bestätigt, dass die St. Louiser deutsche Bühne die erste in den Vereinigten Staaten ist." ²²

Because of poor attendance Börnstein concluded to close the Opernhaus temporarily January 20, 1861, and in the interim to take his company to Cincinnati, where conditions were not yet affected by the impending political crisis. The company played with success in Pike's Opera House in Cincinnati, where it had the hearty support of the German press, and then, ere returning to St. Louis, played with appreciative reception for several evenings in Louisville. ²³ The company resumed daily performances in the St. Louis Opernhaus March 31.

Sundays had brought the German theatre its largest audiences. When the Know-nothing party, the political enemy of the "free-soil" Germans, came into power, they at once unearthed and arbitrarily enforced an antiquated law which prohibited the theatre to open on Sundays. On the 8th of April the new police commissioners were installed. On Sunday, April 14, at six o'clock in the evening, Börnstein was notified not to open his theatre. He declined to heed the police order. Fifteen minutes later the new chief of police with forty policemen came and took possession of the building. Threatened violence upon the police by the assembled Germans was forestalled by a speech from Börnstein, who advised them to quietly go home. Inability to give the cus-

²¹ *Anzeiger des Westens*, March 20, 1860.

²² *Anzeiger des Westens*, November 11, 1860.

²³ "Herrn Börnstein gebührt allerdings für die von ihm organisirte Schauspielertruppe, die er Anfangs der 60er Jahre ebenfalls nach Cincinnati brachte, und zu deren eifrigsten Unterstützern auch wir gehörten, grosse Anerkennung. Wir gestehen es ein, es war das das beste deutsche Theater was Cincinnati je gehabt hat."—*Der deutsche Pionier* (Cincinnati, 1882), XIV, 20.

tomary "Sacred Concerts," as the Sunday performances had in the past been termed, dictated that a German theatre could not meet with financial success. For the German element of the city lived for the most part in the extreme northern and southern parts of the city and therefore had no time to attend performances after business hours on week days. Börnstein consequently closed his theatre permanently April 20.

Had the police interference not put an abrupt end to St. Louis Opernhaus, the political crisis, which within the next fortnight became acute, would have done so. After the closing of the theatre Börnstein used all his energies and did much to consolidate the German sentiment of St. Louis in favor of the Union. He was prominent in organizing the German troops for the defense of the United States arsenal in St. Louis. He took part under General Lyon in the seizure of Camp Jackson May 10, 1861. He was elected Colonel of the Second Regiment of Missouri Volunteers, and as such saw active service.²⁴

III. 1861-1891.

A. 1861-1867. A New Era Begins. The Directorship of Wilhelm Koser.

After the St. Louis Opernhaus had closed its doors Alexander Pfeiffer attempted with a remnant of Börnstein's ensemble to institute a German stage in Apollo Garten. At the

²⁴ After several months of active military service, spent for the most part in Jefferson City, Börnstein was appointed counsel to Bremen by President Lincoln. He went abroad, to return in 1864, at the invitation of his friend, Hon. Francis P. Blair, to take part in Lincoln's second campaign. After the election he returned to his consular post, which he held till deprived of it in 1864 in consequence of the rotation in office which followed Lincoln's death. From 1869-1871 he was codirector with Carl Bukovics, of the Josephstadt Theater in Vienna. During his last years he corresponded for the *Cincinnati Volksblätter*, the *Westliche Post* and the *Illinois-Staats-Zeitung*. He died in Vienna, September 10, 1890.

initial performance, July 9, Bohn's *Drama, Der Tower von London*, was staged. The following day Benedix's *Schauspiel, Die Stiefmutter*, and Putlitz's *Lustspiel, Badekuren*, were performed, and July 11, Töpfer's *Lustspiel, Freien nach Vorschrift*. This third performance marked the end of the experiment. At a time when the columns of the German press were full of calls for volunteers to do military service in the cause of the Union, an attempt to set up a stage could not prove other than futile. A number of actors formerly belonging to Börnstein's ensemble were now engaged in active military service under his command.

A new era for German theatricals began with the spring of 1862. May 18 the theatre in Apollo Garten was formally reopened under the directorship of Alexander Pfeiffer, June 1 the one in Reudi's Volksgarten under the directorship of R. Rosinski and A. Föllger. Both theatres usually played three times weekly, tho the latter advertised irregularly. During June and July occasional performances were also given in Flora Garten under the management of Rosinski. In these Mme. Louise Thielemann, who had been active on the St. Louis stage in the early part of its history, took part. The personnel of the performances during the season was a varying one. In the ensemble of the theatre in Apollo Garten appear the names of Theodor Boll, Julius Grossmann, Könemann, Lange (of Cincinnati), Mme. Caroline Lindmann, Mme. Ludovika and Mlle. Malwine Pfeiffer, and in occasional starring parts, Ascher, G. W. Stierlin, Spitznas, Werber and Föllger, and Mmes. Koser, Otto and Werber, among them members of the ensemble in Ruedi's Volksgarten. In the latter ensemble appear the names of Wilhelm Böttner, Föllger, Werber, Mme. and Mlle. Böttner, and Mmes. Otto, Pritzkow, Ungar and Werber. August 10 the directorship of the performances in Ruedi's Volksgarten passed into the hands of Böttner. In a number of performances under his short lived directorship, which terminated August 24, the

combined talent of the two stages took part. Aside from one performance each of Laube's *Karlsschüler* and *Montrose* in Apollo Garten nothing of literary value was staged during this season. Kotzebue, Friedrich, Nestroy, Birch-Pfeiffer, Görner and Benedix, the most popular dramatists represented on the stage during the period antedating the establishment of the St. Louis Opernhaus, and popular on the latter stage, continued to be preferred during the season with 8, 10, 3, 4, 7 and 10 performances respectively. Raupach was represented twice. The relative percentage of *Schauspiel*, *Volksstück*, etc., *Lustspiel* and *Posse* presented under the Pfeiffer and the Rosinski-Föllger-Böttner managements were respectively 21+, 5—, 47+, 27—, and 3—, 11—, 26+, and 61— per cent.

The summer season in Apollo Garten was concluded October 3. October 5 Pfeiffer staged Krüger's *Mädchen vom Dorfe* in the former St. Louis Opernhaus, now again called the Varieties Theatre. October 21 he opened a winter season in Concert Hall with a performance of Deinhardtstein's *Hans Sachs*. Details of Pfeiffer's activity during this season are meagre in the extant records. Reference to his stage in later years, however, ranked the performances under his direction with those of Börnstein. The end of this season marked the termination of his connection with the St. Louis stage.

Beginning with this same winter the destiny of the German stage for the next five years lay chiefly in the hands of Wilhelm Koser. October 1 Koser opened a theatre on Market Street, between Fourth and Fifth Streets, "dem Courthouse gegenüber im Museum," which he termed the Deutsches Stadttheatre. He conducted a theatre in this same building for four consecutive winter seasons, but each season the theatre underwent a change of name. With the second season (October 6, 1863—May 1, 1864), the name was changed to the St. Louis Stadttheater, with the third season (October 8, 1864—May 21, 1865), to the National Theater, which, with the fourth season

(September 6, 1865—May 14, 1866), was again changed to the Deutsches Stadttheater, also called during this season the Metropolitan Theater. During the last winter under his directorship Koser performed on Sundays (September 23, 1866—April 28, 1867) in the Varieties Theatre and occasionally in the Olympic Theatre, and on week-days (February 9—April 22) in the "Walhalla" Vaudeville Theater on Fourth Street, between Market and Walnut Streets. The former winter home of Koser's theatre had been destroyed by fire in the spring of 1866.

During the intervening summers, with the exception of the summer of 1865, Koser regularly conducted a summer theatre. During the summer of 1863 he played first in Ruedi's Volksgarten and later (August 6—October 3) in Apollo Garten. In the latter he again played the following summer (June 14—October 3, 1864). During the summer of 1866 he played in the Stadttheater Garden on Elm Street, between Third and Fourth. The gap in Koser's activity as director presented by the summer of 1865 was filled by Hannes Lewens who conducted the stage in Apollo Garten from May 21 till September 24 with daily performances principally of *Lustspiel* and *Posse* by an ensemble recruited largely from the ranks of the company directed by Koser during the preceding winter. During the course of the summer Alexander Pfeiffer played under Lewen's directorship in four, and Louis Pelosi and his wife in eight star engagements.

Koser played daily in both his winter and summer theatre, with the exception of the first two winter seasons, during which he played three or four times weekly. The personnel of his stage during these years changed almost completely from season to season.²⁵ With the aid of talent such as Otto von Hoym

²⁵ In the following list of those recorded as playing under Koser's directorship the figures 2, 3, 4, 6 and 2-3, 3-4, etc., indicate respectively the summer seasons 1862, 1863, etc., and the winter seasons 1862-63, etc., during which the actor in question played in his ensemble. An asterisk indicates that the actor appeared during the season not as a regular member of the ensemble, but in *Gastspiele*.

Ahlfeld 5-6, Julius Ascher *4, *5-6, Rudolph Beckier *4, Berman 5-6,

and Emil von der Osten, Mmes. Bekker-Grahn and Mlle. Clausen, Koser was, however, able to conduct a stage of literary as well as dramaturgical importance. Press comment on the performance under Koser's directorship is occasional and general in nature. The relative merit of his stage is attested by reminiscient comment in the editorial columns of the press of the next decade, where his performances and his audiences are classed with those of Börnstein and Pfeiffer.

Of the 945 performances recorded as given under Koser's direction, the *Trauerspiel* represented 5— per cent., *Schauspiel*, 19+ per cent., *Volksstück*, etc., 15+ per cent., *Lustspiel*, 25— per cent., *Posse*, 25— per cent., *Singspiel*, etc., 6— per cent., *Oper*, 5— per cent. The repertory included many plays of literary importance. These were (figures indicate number of times performed): Goethe's *Faust* 4; Schiller's *Braut von Messina* 5, *Don Carlos* 1,

Theodor Boll *3-4, T. Conny *4-5, Conrady 5-6, Anton Föllger *3, *4, *4-5, Caesar Franck *6, Friedrich Gebhard 4-5, Anton Graff 5-6, 6, Heinrich Graff 6, Grochner 6-7, J. Grossman 3, 3-4, R. Grünewald 4-5, Albert Gühlen 5-6, 6-7, Georg Hagen 6, M. Hahn *3-4, E. Härtling 5-6, Rudolph Helmer 6, Emil Höchster 4, 4-5, Otto von Hoym *6-7, Gustav Hübsch 6, Richard Jahn 3-4, 4-5, 5-6, Ludwig Knorr *4, Julius Koch 4-5, 6-7, Kress 5-6, Georg Krüger 3, 3-4, Wilhelm Kunst 4-5, 6, Emil Lasswitz *5-6, *6, Hugo Lennert 4-5, Bruno Lenschner 6, Hannes Lewens 4, 4-5, 5-6, 6, 6-7, Adolph Lieberati 6, 6-7, J. K. McAfferty (Professor in Racine College, in one performance of Halm's *Sohn der Wildnis*, February 12, 1866), Louis Menschke 4, 4-5, Conrad Müller 6, Wilhelm Munsen 6, Friedrich Neidmann 4-5, 5-6, 6, 6-7, Emil von der Osten *6-7, Gustav Ostermann *4, Carl Otto 3-4, 6-7, Pelzer 3, Alexander Pfeiffer *5-6, Karl Rensberg 4, G. Rogge 5-6, R. Rosinsky 3, 3-4, Erwin Rossbach 6, Otto Rudolph 4, 5-6, Leonhard Scherer *5, 5-6, J. H. Schmitz 4-5, H. Schmitz 3-4, 5-6, 6, Carl Schöne 3, C. Schunck *6, Friedrich Schurthe 3-4, Friedrich Schwan *3-4, Alexander Julius Varena 4-5, Carl Werber 3-4, 4, Christian Wolf 5-6, Ignatz Wolf *3-4, *4, 4-5, 5-6, *6, *6-7, Alphons von Zerboni 6.

Mmes. Ahlfeld 5-6, Antoine Bekker-Grahn *4-5, *6, Elise Böttner *4, *4-5, Mlle. Johanna Claussen *4-5, *5-6, *6, *6-7, Mme. Danzi-Haumann 3-4, Mlles. Pauline Dursy 5-6, 6, Sophia Dzinba *6, Otilie Genée *5-6, Maria Graff 6, Mme. Mathilda Graff 6, Mlles. Grempler 5-6, Emma Grosse 4-5, Mme. Anna Grünewald 4-5, Mlles. Louise Haase *5-6, *6-7, Hedwig Hesse *5-6, Hofsteden 4-5, 6-7, Kaiser 5-6, Mme. Albertine Koser 2-3, 6, Mlle. Johanna Lehmann 5-6, 6-7, Mme. Caroline Lindemann 3, 3-4, 4, 4-5, 5-6, Mlles. Ida Marchand *6, Otilie Müller 6, Emma Neumann 6, Mmes. L. von der Osten *6-7, Minna Ostermann-Böttner *4, Rohardine Otto 4, 5-6, 6-7, Hendricks-Peltzer 3, 3-4, Henriette Peterson 4-5, 6, Mlle. Ludwika Pfeiffer 5-6, Mmes. Malwine Pfeiffer *5-6, Amalie Pritzkow 3-4, 4, 4-5, 6-7, Prüller 3-4, Mlles. Franziska Roland *4-5, Caroline Schmitz 6-7, Johanna Schmidt *3-4, 4, Mme. Louise Schmitz 3-4, 4-5, 5-6, 6, Maria von Schramm *3-4, Mlles. Augusta Sonnenschein 4, 4-5, 6-7, Anna Wedemeyer 4, Caroline Werner 4, 4-5, 5-6, 6-7, Rosa von Zerboni 6.

Fiesco 1, *Jungfrau von Orleans* 5, *Kabale und Liebe* 2, *Maria Stuart* 3, *Räuber* 9, *Wallensteins Lager* 2, *Wallensteins Tod* 1, *Wilhelm Tell* 4; Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* 1; Grillparzer's *Medea* 2; Gutzkow's *Königsleutnant* 1, *Uriel Acosta* 6; Hebbel's *Genoveva* 3; Kleist's *Küchen von Heilbronn* 3; Laube's *Graf Essex* 3, *Karlsschüler* 5; Raimund's *Alpenkönig* 3, *Bauer als Millionär* 5, *Verschwender* 5; Shakespeare's *Bezühmte Widerspenstige* 1, *Hamlet* 4, *Kaufmann von Venedig* 3, *Othello* 1, *Richard III* 1, *Romeo und Juliet* 1, *Wintermärchen* 5. Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer was the most popular dramatist for the period, Benedix ranked second. Their plays were performed 64 and 35 times, respectively. Kotzebue was represented 12 times, Raupach but once. Weihrauch's *Volksstück*, *Die Maschinenbauer* was the most popular individual play; it was staged 14 times.²⁶

In several instances Koser's stage suffered competition. Beginning with September 6, 1863, an attempt was made to stage German drama in Bechtner's Varieties on Fifth Street, between Morgan Street and Franklin Avenue, called for this season the Deutsches Stadttheater. Emil Höchster was stage director. The attempt was short lived. None of the plays presented possessed literary merit. After the eighth performance on November 15 all notice of the theatre disappears from the columns of the press.

From May 20 till November 6, 1864, R. Rosinski conducted a German theatre, at first in the Deutscher Volksgarten at 136 North Fifth Street and after cold weather set in, in the Deutsche Volkshalle with which the Garten was connected. His theatre was typically a Volkstheater which essayed nothing more pretentious than an entertaining *Lustspiel* or *Posse*. It announced at its opening daily performances, but advertised irregularly. The limited personnel consisted of Messrs. E. Goldschmidt, C. Miller, R. Rosinski, Mme. D. Haase and Mlle. Louise Schmuckert and

²⁶ The season of 1863-64 included a half dozen performances by Holman's National Opern-Truppe, which sang Bellini's *Nachtwandlerin* and Balse's *Zigeunermädchen* each twice, and Rossini's *Aschenbrödel* and Donizetti's *Tochter des Regiments* each once.

Marie Freebertheyer, whose efforts were supplemented by occasional help from Koser's ensemble.

One or more of several Volksgarten—the former Ruedi's Volksgarten, Washington Garten at Third and Elm Streets, and Franklin Garten at Tenth Street and Franklin Avenue—usually staged *Possen* and kindred pieces during the summers of 1864, 65, 66 and 67, admission to which was free or ten cents, for which usually "2 Bier-tickets" were given to the visitor. But such stages rarely advertised.

While Koser was playing in the Stadttheater Garten, Anton Föllger from May 3 till August 17, 1866, conducted a theatre with daily performances in Apollo Garten. His ensemble was limited. The incomplete list of those recorded as belonging to it included the names of Föllger, Graf, Mönch, Friedrich Schwan, Mme. Amalia Pritzkow and Mlles. M. Hoehni, Pfeiffer and Emma Neumann. Föllger relied largely for assistance upon outside talent. Ludwig Knorr, stage director of the Stadttheater in New York, Julius Koch, Emil Lasswitz, Röpenack, Zerboni, Mmes. Bekker-Grahn, Louise Haase, Röpenack, Zerboni, and Mlle. Johanna Clausen played under his direction in the course of the season. The great number of stars appearing on this stage during the season raised the standard of its repertory above that of the average summer theatre. Goethe's *Faust*, Schiller's *Maria Stuart*, Laube's *Graf Essex* and Gutzkow's *Zopf und Schwerdt* were each performed once, Gutzkow's *Königsleutnant* twice. The different types of play were represented as follows: *Trauerspiel* 4—%, *Schauspiel* 13—%, *Volksstück*, etc., 21—%, *Lustspiel* 24—%, *Posse* 23+%, *Singspiel*, etc. (including two performances of Auber's *Stumme von Portici*), 16—%.

From January 20 till February 22, 1867, the Olympic Theatre was the scene of eleven German performances under the stage direction of Hannes Lewens. The short lived season was inaugurated by a number of actors who were for the time being without regular engagements, some of whom later joined Koser's ensemble.

B. 1867-1870. An Uneventful Period of Decline.

During the summer and the first half of the ensuing winter season following the suspension of Koser's activity on the St. Louis stage, Emil Lasswitz directed daily performances in the Apollo Garten Theater (May 11—October 7, 1867; November 21, 1867—May 20, 1868). On the six Sundays intervening between the summer and winter seasons Lasswitz staged plays with his ensemble in the Varieties Theatre. The Apollo Garten Theater had in the meantime been rebuilt. A reviewer of the opening performance (Goethe's *Clavigo*) takes occasion to comment upon the improvement wrought by the renovation, saying: "Wir haben nach langer, bitterer Entbehrung ein wenn auch nicht übermässig grosses, so doch eine hinreichende Zahl Zuschauer bequem fassendes, prächtig eingerichtetes, zierliches deutsches Theater und können uns des Instituts mit volstem Rechte freuen."²⁷ Lasswitz resigned the directorship of the theatre at the end of January with the intention of returning to Germany, whereupon Kurth, who had been associated with him as business manager, took charge and played daily till May 20. the end of the season. The season was made notable by the large number of "Gastspiele," some of which proved sufficiently attractive to warrant performances by the Apollo ensemble occasionally in one of the larger theatres of the city. In such starring parts appeared C. Härting, Joseph Keppler, Theodor L'Arronge, Mmes. Hedwig L'Arronge and Louise Haase, Milles. Hedwig Hesse and Dora Rolff, and the Hungarian dwarfs Jean Piccolo, Jean Petit and Kis Jozsi. The latter three appeared almost daily before crowded houses for over a month (March 16—April 19). Some reviewers proclaimed them to be great artists. The review in the *Anzeiger des Westens* for April 19, 1868, undoubtedly comes nearer the truth when it says: "Im Übrigen sind und bleiben sie wohl grosse Kunstmerkwürdigkeiten—das Prädikat 'Künstler' aber in dem Sinne, in welchem es die Ästhetik den Jüngern der Bühne zuspricht, kann ihnen nicht zuerkannt werden."

²⁷ *Anzeiger des Westens*, November 22, 1867.

With the opening of the summer season, May 23, Kurth again continued to stage daily performances in the same theatre. Alphons von Zerboni acted as stage manager under his directorship. July 13 Kurth withdrew from the theatre. His repertory had been designed chiefly with the view to entertain, but hard times kept down the attendance. "Er hatte das Seinige redlich und mit dem besten Willen gethan, hatte Opfer auf Opfer gebracht, aber ohne dass damit ein Erfolg erzielt wurde, der ihm die Weiterführung des Theaters hätte wünschenswerth erscheinen lassen. Die Ausgaben überstiegen stets die Einnahmen und Herr Kurth, der mit der Absicht, als reeler Geschäftsmann reel zu handeln, seiner Zeit mit Herrn Lasswitz die Direktion des Apollo Theaters übernommen hatte, sah sich—nach ununterbrochenen pekuniären Verlusten—schliesslich gezwungen, sich von der Leitung des Unternehmens zurückzuziehen. Zu viele leere Häuser in den Wochentagen—Sonntags ist das Theater regelmässig gut besucht gewesen—sind auch in der jüngsten Winter—und in der ersten Hälfte der laufenden Sommersaison der Nagel zum Sarge für das Unternehmen gewesen und es gehört in der That Muth dazu, nach so vielen Entmuthigenden die Sache in die Hand zu nehmen. . . . Der Eintrittspreis ist (namentlich im Sommertheater) so ausserordentlich niedrig gestellt, dass man sehr Vielen, die sich hinter 'die schlechten Zeiten' verstecken, nachweisen könnte, eine wie viel grössere Summe ihrerseits allabendlich der Unterstützung der edlen Kunst des Bierbrauens zugewendet wird."²⁸

About the same time that Kurth retired Zerboni became ill. He died after several weeks and his wife out of despair over the loss of her husband soon thereafter committed suicide. Following Kurth's retirement Krüger and Schiller, the lessees of the theatre, engaged Hannes Lewens as stage manager and under his guidance brought the season to a conclusion October 12, 1868.

Since the retirement of Lassowitz the theatre had artistically ranked low and possessed no literary merit. Attendance had been poor. Krüger and Schiller resumed the directorship of the

²⁸ *Anzeiger des Westens*, July 14, 1868.

theatre with the opening of the winter season October 22. They engaged Lewens and Julius Koch as stage managers. The initial weeks during this winter in no respects offered an improvement. The elite no longer patronized the theatre. January 18 Krüger and Schiller turned the theatre over to Louise Haase. She made elaborate plans for improvement. She had the hearty co-operation of the press. Commenting upon the change of management the *Anzeiger* for January 17, 1869, says: "Die direktionslose, die schreckliche Zeit erreicht heute ihr Ende und von Morgen an hat das Apollo Theater eine artistische Leitung, deren Nichtvorhandensein sich in jüngster Zeit nur allzusehr fühlbar gemacht hatte. Ueber dem hiesigen deutschen Theater waltet seit Jahresfrist und länger ein eigener Unstern—und vielleicht geht ihm in der neuen Direktion ein glücklicher Stern auf. *Fines* ist sicher: Frau L. Haase ist der Aufgabe, der sich die Dame nunmehr unterzieht, gewachsen und das waren ihre unmittelbaren Vorgänger *nicht*.

"Die Herren Krüger und Schiller hatten, kein Gutmeinender wird das in Abrede stellen, einen in mehr denn einer Hinsicht äusserst schwierigen Standpunkt, keiner von Beiden ist mit dem Bühnenwesen auch nur entfernt vertraut und was die Folge dieser Thatsache war, davon weiss das Theaterpublikum einer—die Kasse der Unternehmer anderseits—ein Liedchen zu singen. Doch darüber, wie über so manches andere, der Vergangenheit Angehörige, mag der Zwischenvorhang fallen und in den Vordergrund einzig und allein die neue Direktion mit ihrer theoretischen wie praktischen Befähigungen zur Leitung des Theaters treten. Ihr wird das Publikum mit allem Vertrauen auf die Inaugurirung einer neuen Bühnen-Era entgegenkommen; ihr wird zuvörderst der Beweis geliefert werden, dass der Werth des Geleisteten den Massstab für die Theilnahme des Publikums abgibt und dass ein deutsches Theater in St. Louis bestehen kann, wenn das Verstehen auf Seite der Bühnenleitung nicht mangelt. Schon hört man von, durch Frau Haase beschlossenen 'Reformen' und von der Energie, deren die Dame ein gut Theil besitzen soll, lässt sich erwarten, dass neben dem 'Reformiren' auch das

Substituiren und Completiren in zweckentsprechender Weise gehandhabt werden wird."

With the aid of outside talent Mme. Haase was able to raise the standard of the theatre. Frau von Börndorf, one of the starring performers, drew full houses and at her concluding performance was presented with a silver service by a number of her admirers. For a time St. Louis again enjoyed first-class performances. In spite of increased price of admission, attendance increased.

This winter season closed April 16. After several post-seasonal performances Mme. Haase formally opened the summer season in Apollo Garten, May 16. By the middle of July the public had again grown indifferent to her efforts. She was constrained to discontinue her directorship July 19. Mme. Auguste Höfl reopened the theatre July 27, under her own management. Mme. Höfl made a serious attempt to bring new life into the stage. She introduced occasional opera and operette which attracted not only Germans, but also Americans, and received favorable recognition from the English as well as German press. But the fact that the expense entailed by a stage of such proportions was out of proportion to the proceeds it netted, dissuaded Mme. Höfl from continuing the experiment. The last several weeks of the season concluding September 26 were devoted to *Lustspiel* and *Posse*.

The following winter (October 3, 1869—May 18, 1870) Krüger and Schiller again assumed charge of the Apollo Garten stage. Beginning with January, prior to which the company usually played without regular director, Kurth again directed the stage for Krüger and Schiller. He was succeeded with the beginning of the summer season by Lewens and Lasswitz. The success of the winter season was made possible by the assistance of artists such as Otto von Hoym, J. Humbser, Joseph Keppler, and Mmes. Elise von Hoym and Sophie Frida Vellguth (from the Stadttheater in Milwaukee).

The public during the years represented by the period 1867-70 was apathetic with reference to the theatre. This apathy together with the frequent changes of directorship caused the

theatre to suffer in attendance and from the standpoint of dramaturgical attainment. It required an unusual star or the presence of the unique as represented in the three dwarfs to attract a full house. If the literary merit of the repertory seemingly did not suffer, the fact must be ascribed to the frequency of the *Gastspiele*. Of the 1018 plays performed the *Trauerspiel* represented in terms of percentage 3—, *Schauspiel* 11—, *Volksstück*, etc., 14+, *Lustspiel* 22+, *Posse* 31+, *Singspiel* 8+, *Oper* and *Operette* 11+. The serious dramas appearing on the stage during these years were the following (figures indicate number of times performed): Goethe's *Clavigo* 2, *Egmont* 1, *Faust* 1; Schiller's *Braut von Messina* 1, *Don Carlos* 1, *Jungfrau von Orléans* 1, *Kabale und Liebe* 1, *Maria Stuart* 2, *Die Räuber* 3, *Wallensteins Lager* 2, *Wilhelm Tell* 2, *Turandot* 2; Shakespeare's *Hamlet* 5, *Macbeth* 1, *Othello* 3, *Romeo und Juliet* 1, *Ein Sommermärchen* 1, *Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung* 3; Freytag's *Journalisten* 1; Gutzkow's *Königsleutnant* 2; Hebbel's *Genoveva* 2; Kleist's *Kätchen von Heilbronn* 2; Laube's *Böse Zungen* 4, *Graf Essex* 2; Raimund's *Alpenkönig* 1, *Bauer als Millionär* 1, *Verschwender* 4.

(To be Continued)

SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS TO H. W. LONGFELLOW.¹—A CHAPTER IN GERMAN AMERICAN RELATIONS.

By AMANDUS JOHNSON.

The following letters were copied by the writer in January, 1913, during investigations into Longfellow's relations to the Scandinavian literatures. They speak for themselves and need no introduction.

I.

To the Right Honorable Poet, Mr. Henry Wardsworth Longfellow, Frankfort a/m.

Whit Sunday 1857.

Honoured Sir!

That's a true Poet I exclaimed, reading your poetry, a true Bard!

In Germany poetry is dead after Schiller, Goethe, Uhland, and some others. Henry Heine was the last poet of genius. In England there is no inspired and inspiring poet since Lord Byron and Moore, but America, the New World, sends us a new inspiring poet. I felt the inspiration myself reading your golden legend, which concentrates in it all the poetry of middle age and of the Rhine. I have translated it in German rhyme. I did it because I was inspired by your genius, as I was once by Lord Byron. Critics say my translations of Byron are the best. I feel they are the only worth reading. It was ever my aim to produce by mine translations the same sensations as the original and to chose the most poetical German words. Lord Byron mentions me in his memories with great consideration. I am a german poetess an Epegone of Schiller and Goethe. Chateaubriand speaks of me in his memories "*d'autre tombe*" in his ambassade to Berlin, naming me the beautiful and poetical Baronne de Hohenhausen. I was once so, but I have grown old and my heart is broken with the deepest sorrow, but still I love poetry.

¹ Originals in the Longfellow Collection in the Craigie House, Cambridge, Mass. The writer is under deep obligation to Professor H. W. L. Dana, of Columbia University, for his kindness and courtesy.

I have translated then your golden legend and honourable critics say: that's the genius of the original, nobody thinks it were a translation.

But alas with the true poet died in Germany the taste of poetry. No publisher of books would print such high poetry: they sell only bad novels, irreligious and frivolous, and translations who murder the genius of the original, written by non-poets sold for some dollars. I am a widow, living by a small income, though a aristocratic lady; my father being a renowned general, who made his first campaign in America and my husband was councillor of a regencee (?), but in germany neither soldiers nor councillors are rich. Notwithstanding that I would given my work without honorar to the publisher, as a token of my enthusiasm for poetry and at length I found one, a very honest man of great renown in Germany. He will undertake to publish my translation of your golden legend. The King of Prussia will accept the dedication and the Duke of Gotha, a celebrated componist will set the music to the choirs of the angels. So I hope the golden legend shall appear in germany with the elegance due to her merit. There is some difficulty about the illustrations, with which my publishers will adorn the golden legend; it is very bad work in Germany. I believe your work is sumptuously printed and illustrated in England and America and you have doublets of the illustrations. I pray send them to me that they may be copied here as a share of the glory of the golden legend will earn in germany. But to speak freely, you will send them gratis for neither the publisher nor I can pay for it. I gave already my reasons of that. Fame makes you very rich as you shall see by the fragment of a Journal lying by.

You know german to perfection and perhaps I had done better to write to you in my tongue then in such weak english, wanting the use of conversation; but I hope you will understand my meaning. I send you hereby some token of my translations. Maria of the golden legend and Excelsior written by me with a broken heart, for it is the lot of my only highgifted son, beautiful and noble to die by too many spiritual exertions, which destroyed his health.

I send you also a token of my original poetry, inspired by an english travelbook.

My honoured true poet, I hope you will answer to me kind and soon. The copies of the Illustrations are easy to produce here, when we have a good original.

Yours

very affectionate

Elise de Hohenhausen, nee Ochs.

My address is as follows not Frankfort sur le Main but sur *l'Oder*, not to forget it.

A Madame la Baronne de Hohenhausen nee baronne d'Ochs en Allemagne.

a Frankfort sur l'Oder.

II.

Farnkfurt an der Oder.

Feb. 20, 1858.

My dear Sir!

I have to tell you a very melancholy story: your kind letter of Nov. 12 arrived here just four weeks later and indeed too late! Two days after the death of the noble lady to whom it was addressed. Sche was my dearest mother and I would have given my very heartblood if I could have procured her the pleasure of receiving your most amiable letter still alive. I wept very bitterly when I read it; there was a scene out of the cruel tragedy of human life to have thus died away before the few sunbeams of happiness could reach the eye darkened by so many sufferings. I fear your kind heart will repent very much that you did not write some days earlier to her, who would have felt so happy by it. But you may find much relieve by hearing that you have notwithstanding relieved and comforted by your poetry the dark hours of a deep poetical mind. The translation of your beautiful golden legend was the greatest joy for my poor beloved mother. Sche spoke very often about you whom she regarded as the only real poet of the present. I am in some respect the heiress of her meaning and I will take care to fulfill the last wish

of my dearest mother; her translation shall be printed and published on my own expenses as german bookseller and publishers are so frightened to loose their money by getting printed nothing but food for circulating libraries! Poetry becomes a stranger in its very home the poetical Germany!

I am sure that in England and America my mother would have been the pride of the whole country. Sche was in her youth celebrated for her beauty and her poetical talents. She was called the german Madame Recamier, for she was quite so beautiful, so virtuous and so clever as this famous french lady. Chateaubriand in his memories speaks of my mother with the highest admiration, he had seen her during a sojourn at Berlin, where she stayed several years during her younger years. Her beauty had not deserted her, though her hair was gray, the features still bore till death that mild angelic expression, which distinguished them formerly. Though her country did not much think of her, she was very much honoured and estimated in the small but distinguished circle she lived in. The evening of her troublesome and most disconsolate life seemed to become calm and serene, she lived in my house and had a lovely youthful grandchild with her, the daughter of my late sister, but death interrupted our short happiness! My dear mother died by an violent attack of headache, the brain was destruckted by it. She wished since long to die and to be reallied with her children in heaven. Dear Sir, you will feel with me the heart-ache such a loss must give your poetical mind knows such sufferings as I see them so beautifully described in your poems! I beg you to allow me to write once more to you to send you the printed translation of my mother.

Eliza Rüdiger, born Baroness de Hohenhausen.

III.

Berlin, October 27, 1867.

My dear Sir!

I have written to you ten years ago when my poor mother the Baroness von Hohenhausen died. Since that time your fame as a poet has grown more and more, you are indeed the most

celebrated poet living, England cannot rival by its [crossed out in orig.] his poet laureat Tennyson with your beautiful name!

When you were a youth you have been in Germany, you should come again now in the town of intelligence, Berlin, where every capacity admires you and would be delighted to see you and make your personal acquaintance. The (?) months passed in Berlin will give you indeed a great deal of enjoyment, as it must be a pleasure to see how the best spirits sympathize with you and admire you. You would become the chiefest interest of Society here, particular would our lovely Princess royal, who speaks your language invite you to her circles and also the queen herself would do the same. One of our Princes is a poet himself and has written though not yet published several tragedies. It is Prince George of Prussia; his royal highness is a friend of mine and spends very often his evenings at my teatable. He was quite enchanted of the idea to see you once in my rooms and encouraged me eagerly to invite you as soon as possible to come to Berlin. I hope you will not despise my humble lodging. I offer you several rooms and a large saloon to your visitors of high rank. If you have a daughter or son to accompany you, it would be much the better so. I have been told, that you lost your amiable lady—but perhaps you have married again and then she is invited to come as fervently as you by your most sincere admirer,

Eliza Rüdiger,
Baroness Hohenhausen.

Berlin. Unter den Linden, No. 15.

To your ambassador, Mr. Bancroft, I am already introduced and it was he who gave me your address.

German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

AMERICANA GERMANICA

New Series, May, June, July and August Old Series,
Vol. XV. Nos. 3 and 4. 1917. Vol. XIX. Nos. 3 and 4

THE GERMAN DRAMA ON THE ST. LOUIS STAGE.

BY

ALFRED H. NOLLE,
University of Missouri.

(Concluded.)

C. 1870-1880. *Opera on the Apollo Stage 1870-1875. The
Pelosi Directorship 1871-1880.*

The summer season of 1870 (May 21—October 16) Krüger and Schiller introduced opera and operette along with drama on the Apollo stage under the direction of Carl Schramm as musical conductor. During the course of the summer Donizetti's *Reginensstochter* was sung once, Offenbach's *Verlobung bei der Laterne*, and Suppe's *Flotte Bursche* and *Schöne Galathee* each twice, Offenbach's *Orpheus in der Unterwelt* five times, his *Schöne Helene* fifteen times, and *Der Blaubart* eighteen times.

During the next five years the Apollo Garten Theater was devoted to a large extent to opera and operette. Julius Herrmann, who during the summer of 1870 had appeared in starring parts in the Apollo Garten Theater, was director of that theatre during the winter of 1870-71. Herrmann made it his aim to present almost exclusively opera and *Lustspiel*. The performances he staged were not perfect, but pleased, as is apparent from the word of warning contained in the criticism printed in the *Anzeiger des Westens* for October 23, 1870, which, after commenting on the excellencies of the performance in question, says: "Nichts ist so verderblich und muss verderblich fürs Theater sein, als Berichte, denen auf der Stirn geschrieben steht, dass sie eben nichts weiter sind, als geschäftsmässige Puffs. Wenn ein

Blatt z. B. schreibt, dass die Aufführung von 'Fra Diavolo' am Freitag 'die beste war, die jemals hier gesehen, und gehört worden sei,' so mag das, als Geschäftsempfehlung, vielleicht zu entschuldigen sein, dem Publikum gegenüber ist es aber nicht zu rechtfertigen. Dass die Chöre 'tadellos' waren, wie es in jenem Blatte zu lesen, heisst der Wahrheit so stark ins Gesicht schlagen, dass Musikverständige, die der Aufführung beiwohnten, ein Recht haben, über solches Lobhudeln ungehalten zu werden." Herrmann instituted a number of "Galavorstellungen." At the first of these Hugo Müller's *Genrebild Adelaide* followed by selections from grand opera was given. It succeeded in creating interest anew for the stage in many who had grown apathetic toward it. "Der ersten der im Laufe der Saison zu veranstaltenden Gala-Versammlungen wohnte kein sehr zahlreiches, dagegen ein um so gewählteres Publikum bei, so dass alte 'ergraute' Theaterhabitués sich in die Zeiten der Alexander Pfeifferschen Direktion, oder in die Wintersaison des National Theaters unter Direktor Koser zurückversetzt glauben konnten, in jene Zeiten, da dem deutschen Theater noch reges Interesse von Seiten der Elite des hiesigen Deutschtums geschenkt ward und das Auditorium die besten deutschen Familien der Stadt in sich zu schliessen pflegte. Der Anblick des Zuschauerraums am gestrigen Abend liess das Bedauern über die in gewissen Kreisen dem Theater gegenüber herrschende Lautheit doppelt rege werden, und damit zugleich den Wunsch nach Besserwerden."²⁹

But the enthusiasm these Galavorstellungen aroused was but spasmodic. Less than two weeks later, December 31, the reviewer in the same paper complains bitterly over the poor attendance at the really first class performances: "'Lucretia Borgia' wird im Apollo Theater besser aufgeführt, als sie z. B. von der Parodi Truppe, später unter Strakosch's Management oder von der Ghioni-Susini Gesellschaft gegeben wurde. Es hat, danach zu schliessen, also auch auf diesem Gebiete der alte Satz, nach welchem 'der Prophet in seinem Vaterlande nichts gilt' seine Berechtigung. Weil Direktor Herrmann sich hier niedergelassen, weil er das Theater übernommen hat, weil Fr. Schüler-Jäger und Fr. Dziuba St. Louis zu ihrem Wohnort erkoren haben, weil

²⁹ *Anzeiger des Westens*, December 21, 1870.

Beetz, Humbler, Graff, etc., für die ganze Saison engagirt sind, weil man also noch Zeit hat, sie im Laufe des Winters zu hören, deshalb lässt man die Vorstellungen einer der ansprechendsten, melodienreichsten Opern eines Tonmeisters unbesucht! Solcher-gestalt ist die Logik, die dem übeln Stande der Dinge zu Grunde liegt. Es ist freilich eine sehr unlogische Logik.—Was aber wird die Folge schliesslich sein? Dass wir einbüßen werden, was wir jetzt besitzen und was keine zweite Stadt im ganzen Lande aufzuweisen hat: eine permanente deutsche Oper. Und erst, wenn es zu spät sein, wenn der Schatz unseren Händen entglitten sein wird, erst dann wird das Bedauern kommen, dann erst wird man 'die schönen Tage' zurückwünschen, die Tage, die uns solche musikalische Freuden gebracht hatten." January 26 the reviewer again speaks in similar terms, concluding: "Es bleibt beim Alten, beim Schlimmen."

The winter season concluded June 2, 1871. During this time Herrmann had usually played daily. Beginning June 4 he commenced a summer season. But as early as June 25 he found himself constrained to cease performing, because of the apathy of the public toward his efforts. Ferdinand Ahlfeld then took charge as director with performances several times weekly, at times daily, concluding the season September 29, which was followed by a number of post-seasonal performances ending October 27. His repertory, made up chiefly of *Lustspiel* and *Posse*, included occasional opera performances.

During the ensuing winter the drama prevailed on the Apollo stage under the directorship of Louis Pelosi. Pelosi's advent marks a decided rise in the artistic and literary niveau of German theatricals in St. Louis. The very successful season which he conducted during this winter will be discussed below in connection with his subsequent activities on the St. Louis stage.

Beginning with June 17, 1872, opera again made its appearance on the Apollo stage, now called the Apollo Opernhaus. Nathan Waldstine, a local business man, assumed charge of the theatre. He engaged Julius Herrman as stage director, with a company which included as principals: E. Beetz and Theodor Habelmann, tenors, Emil Telle, baritone, Adolp Franosch, Julius Herrmann, W. Koerner and Otto Schüler, basses, Milles. Sophia

Dziuba, Anna Jäger, Bertha Roemer, primadonnas, and Albertine Hofstetter, second primadonna. Carl Helmar, of the California Stadttheater in San Francisco, and Mlle. Josie Höfl assisted in a number of performances. Opera and operette were sung under Waldstine's management three times weekly, and at times daily, throughout the summer season, concluding October 25, and the winter season beginning November 1. From an artistic standpoint the performances, though not perfect, received the approval of press and public, including the English-speaking public. The principals in these performances were usually praised, but the ensemble work and chorus oftentimes gave ground for criticism. Though attendance was good, it was not sufficient to make the venture a financial success, a fact easily understood in the light of the present day, when deficits must constantly be covered by generous lovers of art or by subsidy. Waldstine therefore retired from the venture, whereupon Theodor Habelmann at once re-engaged the greater part of the ensemble, added to it, and without interruption resumed playing. He formally reopened the theatre under his direction February 11. He too staged exclusively opera and operette till the termination of the season May 30.

Habelmann resumed performances in the Opernhaus June 1 with the change that besides opera an occasional *Lustspiel* was staged. By the end of the summer season (September 28) the German public had grown apathetic toward the opera performances, not without reason, for the same operas had been sung time and again. The opera ensemble therefore left St. Louis for Louisville, where it met with no better financial success than in St. Louis. By February 1 it there incurred a deficit of \$1200, which the Liederkranz of that city guaranteed.

Krüger and Schiller, the lessees of the theatre, thereupon "der Noth gehorchend, nicht dem eigenen Triebe," again assumed charge. They devoted the stage to drama with a company under the directorship of Hannes Lewens. The winter season and the first part of the summer season following (October 5, 1873—July 19, 1874) rarely offered anything better than oft repeated *Lustspiel* and *Posse*, which failed to prove attractive to the public.

The apathy of the public naturally in turn reacted upon the stage. "Der mittlere Bürgerstand, die deutschen Handwerker und Arbeiter sind es, die seit Jahren der hiesigen deutschen Bühne ziemlich kümmerliches Dasein fristen helfen—und Diejenigen, die da stets von schlechten Leistungen sprechen, von nicht mitanzusehenden Vorstellungen, etc., sind mit, nein sind vornehmlich daran Schuld, dass es eben so and nicht besser. Die Misere *vor* der Bühne—die leeren Bänke—erzeugt Misere *auf* der Bühne. Nur des Sonntags pflegen die Vorstellungen (sowohl im Apollo- wie im Olympic-Theater) besucht zu sein—und im letzten findet sich eine Anzahl deutscher Familien regelmässig ein—aber gerade das ist eben nur ein Beweis mehr für die Richtigkeit des oben Gesagten. Die mit jedem Jahre zunehmende Zahl der geselligen Vereine bildet gleichfalls einen Hemmschuh für das Prosperiren der Theater. So kommt eins zum Andern und das Facit dieses Rechenexempels kann sich jeder machen."³⁰

In July a part of the opera company returned to St. Louis. The majority of the performances during the remainder of the summer season beginning July 24, were thereupon devoted to opera under the directorship of Fritz La Fontaine. The repertory offered nothing new. The German press again found it necessary to upbraid the indifferent public. Later in the year Habelmann again reorganized the opera ensemble. It had ceased performing November 15. Habelmann resumed performances in the Apollo on Christmas Day to continue without interruption till June 27. He introduced at least two new operas which had not been heard in the Apollo before—Meyerbeer's *Afrikanerin* and Wagner's *Tannhäuser*, the latter the first Wagnerian opera to be produced on the German stage in St. Louis; it had, however, previously been sung by a visiting company.

Habelmann's audiences were usually reported fair, but offered ground for complaint. As is evident from the following review containing utterances that are typical of a number of similar editorial utterances, the theatre itself and its environs were responsible for the indifference of part of the public toward the

³⁰ *Anzeiger des Westens*, November 30, 1873.

performances in the Apollo. Entrance to the theatre was apparently through a café connected with the Apollo Garten. "Der dritten Aufführung der *Afrikanerin* am Mittwoch Abend, wohnte ein sehr zahlreiches Publikum bei, und in diesem Umstande erblicken wir, gegenüber der bisher nur zu deutlich bekundeten Apathie der 'höheren Gesellschaft' eine Wendung zum Bessern. Wenn unsere 'feine Welt' es übers Herz bringen könnten, über den lobenswerthen Bestrebungen der Direktion und den Anstrengungen der Mitwirkenden den vielleicht nicht allzu eleganten Eingang zum Theater zu vergessen und vergeben; wenn die Herrschaften mehr darauf denken wollten, dass sie Meyerbeersche Musik zu hören bekommen, und zwar eine seiner grossartigsten Schöpfungen, und sich weniger daran stossen wollten, dass der Dress Circle nicht mit rotem Sammet ausgeschlagen ist (was es übrigens in Ben de Bar's und im Olympic auch nicht)—wenn sie das Opfer brächten, diese Äusserlichkeiten zu übersehen, dann würde die Direktion ihrerseits in den Stand gesetzt werden, dem Publikum mit der Zeit noch Besseres zu bieten und nicht fortwährender Sorge für Aufrechterhaltung eines Kunstinstituts zu kämpfen haben, das ein zahlreiches Deutschthum wie das hiesige so kräftig unterstützen sollte (und könnte), dass die regelmässigsten Einnahmen *mindestens*, nicht aber, wie bislang, Mister Deficit leider eine Hauptrolle zu spielen bekommt."³¹ An attempt had been made to engage the support of the dissenting element of the German public by occasionally staging performances in one of the large theatres on Sundays, but without the desired result. Commenting upon a performance held in De Bar's Opera House a review in the *Anzeiger* for March 21, 1875, said: "Man hätte glauben sollen, dass Diejenigen, die als Entschuldigung oder Rechtfertigung ihres Nichtbesuchens der Oper jahraus jahrein die Mängel des Lokals vorschützen, die gestern gebotene Gelegenheit, die Oper im besten Theatergebäude der Stadt hören zu können, benützt haben und sich in grosser Zahl eingestellt haben würden—fehl geschossen! Von *den* Herrschaften war keine Spur zu erblicken. . . . Am Sonntag wird die 'Aristokratie'

³¹ *Anzeiger des Westens*, June 4, 1875.

so wie so nicht erwartet. Sonntags füllt sich das Haus durch Gewerbtreibende, der sogenannte 'Kleine Geschäftsmann,' der Handwerker und Arbeiter bereitet sich und den Seinen da die beste Erholung, indem er in die Oper geht—und *diese* Besucherklasse zeigt durch ihr regelmässiges Wiederkommen, dass sie Sinn und Geschmack für diese Art Unterhaltung besitzt. . . ."

Of the 944 plays recorded for the Apollo stage from the summer of 1870 till June 27, 1875, excluding the winter season of 1870-71, during which Pelosi had charge of the Apollo Theater, 431 were operas or operettes and 37 *Singspiele*, together about 50% of the total. The *Trauerspiel*, *Schauspiel*, *Volksstück*, *Lustspiel*, and *Posse*, represented respectively 1—, 8+, 17—, 11+, and 14— per cent. of the total.

The Pelosi Directorship 1871-1880.

During the years in which the Apollo Theater was to a large extent being devoted to opera and operette, St. Louis at the same time enjoyed a creditable German theatre under the directorship of Louis Pelosi. As already pointed out Pelosi had charge of the Apollo Theater during the winter season of 1870-71, during which he played three times weekly. He came to St. Louis heralded with a flattering reputation. An editorial announcing his coming said: "Das Apollo Theater hat der Phasen so viele erlebt, die hiesigen deutschen Bühnenvverhältnisse haben im Laufe der Jahre alle Stadien des Wohlergehens und Nichtwohlergehens durchgemacht, dass der Hoffnungsanker, der jetzt ausgeworfen wird, von Seiten aller Freunden der Bühne und des deutschen Publikums im Allgemeinen mit doppelter Freude begrüsst werden sollte, da sich im Pelosischen Ehepaare die tüchtige Direktionskraft mit trefflicher Leistungsfähigkeit auf den Brettern vereint und somit dem Hierherkommen des Paares zwiefacher Werth für die hiesigen Theaterverhältnisse beizumessen ist."³² Editorial comment at the end of the season indicates that Pelosi lived up to the reputation which heralded his coming. "Wenn je eine Direktion zu Anerkennung

³² *Anzeiger des Westens*, October 26, 1871.

und Lob berechtigt war, so ist es die gegenwärtige des Apollo Theaters. Herr und Frau Pelosi haben dem alten Schlendrian früherer Jahre ein Ende gemacht und in das Chaos der hiesigen deutschen Bühne Ordnung gebracht."³³ Pelosi raised the standard of the theatre over that which it had been for a number of years. His repertory during the first season included two performances of Schiller's *Räuber*, one of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, one of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, one of Grillparzer's *Medea*, and among other serious dramas two performances each of Brachvogel's *Narciss* and Halm's *Griseldis*. The reviews of the performances for this season are not detailed, but are universally favorable, as illustrated in the following comment upon a mid-season performance, "Die gute Einstudierung der Vorstellungen ist eine der Hauptaufgaben, die sich die Direktion gestellt hat; nach dieser Richtung hin ist ihr Eifer besonders tätig, und das Resultat sind eben gerundete Aufführungen."³⁴ Attendance at his performances was not only consistently good, but included many of the "old guard" who took interest in the theatre only when it from the standpoint of merit warranted recognition. A review of a performance contained in the *Anzeiger des Westens* for April 7, 1872, is typical of a number of editorial utterances substantiating this fact: "Die Freunde der deutschen Bühne hatten sich am Freitag Abend recht zahlreich im Apollo Theater eingefunden, um einer (dritten oder gar vierten) Wiederholung des Benedixschen Lustspiels *Die zärtlichen Verwandten* beizuwohnen. Es war eine seit lange entbehrte Genugthuung für ältere hiesige Theaterfreunde, im Zuschauerraume nicht wenige von jenen deutschen Familien zu erblicken, die zu den Zeiten Börnstein's, Pfeiffer's und Koser's den Kern des Theaterpublikums zu bilden und selten bei einer Vorstellung zu fehlen pflegten; jene Familien, auf die in früheren Jahren die Direktion so zu sagen zählen konnte. Leider ist es jetzt Ausnahme, was damals—wir sprechen von den Jahren 1859 bis 1866—Regel war. Unter einer Direktion wie die Pelosische würden sich allerdings die hiesigen Theaterverhältnisse nach und nach wieder ins rechte Geleise bringen lassen.

³³ *Anzeiger des Westens*, April 25, 1872.

³⁴ *Anzeiger des Westens*, January 14, 1872.

. . . Mag die Sommersaison nun bringen was sie will—die Wintersaison brachte sicher und gewiss gar manches Gute und Schöne und vor Allem gerundete, wohl vorbereitete Aufführungen."

Pelosi for the next eight consecutive winters, with the exception of the season 1876-77, contemporaneous with and for several years following the seasons in which the Apollo was largely devoted to opera, continued to give St. Louis a creditable German stage. During these seasons he performed weekly on Sundays. During the first four and the last of these seasons³⁵ he staged his plays in the Olympic Theatre, during the season of 1877-78 in Ben De Bar's Opera House. Beginning October 3, 1875, while staging Sunday performances in the Olympic, he also performed several times weekly in the Apollo Theater, but discontinued on January 17. The season in the Apollo concluding June 4, beginning March 3 was continued by a company under the directorship of Mme. Solia, to be transferred beginning April 16 to the directorship of Silberberg and Schulz. The Apollo ensemble continued to perform several times weekly, and in addition gave Sunday performances in De Bar's Opera House.

During these years Pelosi's performances continued to merit favorable comment in the columns of the press and to attract audiences which continued to be termed *gewählt*. The tenor of the press comment is that of the excerpts quoted above for the season 1870-71.

The winter of 1876-77 Pelosi spent in Germany. During his absence St. Louis had two theatres. From September 17, 1876, to April 15, 1877, De Bar's Opera House was the home of Sunday performances. The season opened under the management of Silberberg and Company. Beginning with October 22 it continued under the management of Paul Dilg and Company. This Opera House ensemble attempted weekday performances, first in the St. Louis Stadttheater, on Morgan Street, between

³⁵ September 1, 1872, to May 4, 1873; August 31, 1873, to May 3, 1874; September 6, 1874, to April 16, 1875; September 19, 1875, to April 16, 1876; October 21, 1877, to April 21, 1878; September 1, 1878, to May 1, 1879; September 21, 1879, to December 21, 1879.

Tenth and Eleventh, and later in the Apollo Theater. But poor attendance caused the weekday performances soon to be discontinued. During the same winter Alexander Wurster, director of the New Chicago Theater, conducted Sunday performances in the Olympic Theatre from September 24 till May 6, with occasional Sunday and weekly performances in the Apollo.

Members of Wurster's Company continued, under the management of Lewens, during the greater part of the ensuing summer to present *Posse* and *Lustspiel* on Sundays in the Apollo. Beginning with May 27 Carl Schmidt during the same summer directed a summer theatre devoted chiefly to *Posse* and *Lustspiel* in a new theatre erected in Strathmanns La Fayette Park at Second Street and Carondelet Avenue. Performances on this stage were initially given three times weekly. But the public was not responsive to the new enterprise. An editorial of June 17 in commenting upon the poor attendance it received says: "Hier hat man sich die Gleichgiltigkeit, die schon gar Manches zu Grabe tragen half, auch der Sommerbühne gegenüber geltend und zwar in solchem Masse, dass es nach allen Richtungen sehr zu bedauern ist.—So lange im Apollo Theater gespielt wurde, das als Sommertheater nur der grossen Hitze wegen nicht allen Anforderungen entsprach—so weit die Räumlichkeiten in Betracht kommen—wurde das Nichthingehen mit der Lokalität, mit dem Eingang, mit dem Mangel an Eleganz und dergleichen motivirt. Jetzt aber hat ein unternehmender Privatmann im prächtigsten Stadtteile, mitten zwischen Gärten und Bäumen, mittelst Strassenbahn bequem zu erreichen, in nächster Nähe des schönsten Parks der Stadt, ein Sommertheater bauen lassen, das ein wahres Schmuckkästchen ist, in einem Garten steht, und worin *gut* gespielt wird—und wie sieht's nun da mit der 'Unterstützung' aus?—Obgleich wöchentlich nur dreimal gespielt wird . . . so sind die Vorstellungen nur Sonntags angemessen besucht, während an den Wochentagen der Zuschauerraum nur sehr selten gefüllt ist. Und doch sind die Vorstellungen fleissig einstudirt, sorglich vorbereitet—die Gesellschaft ist aus recht tüchtigen Kräften zusammengesetzt—die Regie ruht in fähigen Händen und man darf sich

versichert halten, den Abend auf das Angenehmste zu verbringen, wenn man das Lafayettepark Theater besucht."³⁶

During the latter part of the season the La Fayette Park Theater varied its program by alternating English plays with German performances. An attempt was made during the following summer to again stage German plays in this theatre, but the attempt met with no success; after the middle of July the press gives no further notice of such performances. During the summer of 1879 St. Louis had no summer theatre. During the summer of 1880 an attempt was made to again establish a German stage in the La Fayette Park theatre, now called the Thalia Sommergarten Theater. But after several performances the attempt was given up.

While Pelosi after a year's absence resumed Sunday performances during the winter of 1877-78, this time in De Bar's Opera House, Wurster again as during the winter previously gave Sunday performances in the Olympic (September 16 to April 7). The following winter Pelosi had the field to himself. During the season 1879-80, while he was again playing in the Olympic, his performances suffered competition by a stage instituted by Wilhelm Rieckhoff. Rieckhoff gave performances three times weekly from August 31 till February 27 in the Apollo Theater, which had been remodelled during the course of the preceding summer. At the end of February due to poor attendance he discontinued the weekday performances and played Sundays only from February 29 till April 30, 1880, in Pope's Theatre at Ninth and Ohio Streets. These Sunday performances proved more attractive. The character of Rieckhoff's audience compared favorably with that of Pelosi. In fact Pelosi this season discontinued performances with the end of December and the allegiance which the public had shown his enterprise was transferred to that of Rieckhoff. A review toward the close of the season summarizes the activity of the latter as follows: "Die Rieckhoffsche Gesellschaft hatte uns—wenige vereinzelte Ausnahmen abgerechnet—recht gute Vorstellungen geboten und hatte die Lust an deutschen

³⁶ *Anzeiger des Westens*, June 17, 1877.

Kreisen geweckt, in denen seit lange eine förmliche Apathie gegen die deutsche Bühne geherrscht hatte; die Besetzung der Rollen war in den meisten Fällen eine gute gewesen, die Aufführungen waren sorgfältig vorbereitet, die Ausstattung war—was die Toiletten der Damen anlangt—vorzüglich, mit einem Worte: die Gesellschaft verdient ungeschmälerte Anerkennung für das Geleistete."³⁷

The year 1880 did not mark the termination of Pelosi's connection with the German theatre in St. Louis. The following year he again appeared on the stage and subsequently was again active as director. But his subsequent directorship falls in a period where the German theatre was handicapped by the want of an adequate home. The year 1880 therefore marks the close of the most successful part of Pelosi's career as director. As reference to the repertory for the period will show (see Appendix), his stage from a literary standpoint ranked far superior to that of his contemporaries.

d. 1880-1891. A Period of Varying Fortune.

Beginning with the year 1880 the English theatres were commencing to be used on Sunday evenings for English performances. The nomadic existence which the German stage in consequence of the want of a permanent home was during the next decade therefore constrained to lead, coupled with frequent changes of management, made the fortune of the German stage during this decade a varying one.

Rieckhoff again staged Sunday performances in Pope's Theatre during the winters of 1880-81 and 1881-82. The first of these two seasons was again a moderate success. The *Anzeiger des Westens* for March 26, 1881, says: "Die diesjährige Theatersaison, welche Herr Rieckhoff unter den glänzendsten Auspizien eröffnete, hat zwar nicht alle Erwartungen erfüllt, welche Direktion und Publikum daran knüpften, aber sie hat doch den Beweis geliefert, dass ein gutes deutsches Theater in St. Louis nicht nur existenzfähig ist, sondern geradezu als ein Bedürfnis betrachtet

³⁷ *Anzeiger des Westens*, April 19, 1880.

werden muss." This season Rieckhoff had had the field to himself. The following season (1881-82), however, he had serious competition by performances instituted by Alexander Wurster with a strong ensemble in the Apollo Theater, which had again been rebuilt, and by a number of visiting companies who offered star attractions. The Wurster ensemble usually performed on Sundays in the Grand Opera House. The Rieckhoff ensemble excelled in the *Lustspiel* and the *Konversationsstück*; the Wurster ensemble in *Posse* and *Gesangsstück*.

St. Louis had not for several seasons past adequately supported one good German theatre. It could not support two. Both the enterprise of Wurster and of Rieckhoff therefore terminated abruptly with financial loss to the directors, the former March 16, the latter April 18. Though the season from a financial standpoint had been a failure to both directors, from the standpoint of the standard of attainment reached on the two stages the public had profited by the competition between them. "Die Saison 1881-82 war eine sehr reiche und mannigfache Abwechslung bietende. Wie könnte auch eine Theatersaison nicht reich sein, die uns einen Haase, einen Sonntag, eine Geistinger—der *die minorum gentium*, die als Gäste kamen, gar nicht zu gedenken—brachte? . . . Freilich gingen die beiden Direktoren, die sich bittere Concurrenz machten, darüber elendiglich zu Grunde und ihre hinterlassenen Truppen mussten sich nicht blos in alle Winde zerstreuen, sondern auf dem nicht sehr ungewöhnlichen Wege der Benefizvorstellung zum Theil ihr Fortkommen von hier, zum Theil ihr Hierbleiben ermöglichen. Aber vom Standpunkte der Kunst betrachtet war die Saison, wie gesagt, eine der besten, die wir noch je zu verzeichnen hatten."²⁸

During the summer of 1881 St. Louis had no summer theatre. Contemporaneous, however, with the initial weeks of the performances of the rival stages under the direction of Rieckhoff and Wurster, Victor Sarnier from September 22 till November 13, 1881, conducted a Volkstheater in the Tivoli Halle at Fourth and Elm Streets, in which he staged *Lustspiel* and *Posse* several times weekly. During the spring of 1882 he conducted

²⁸ *Anzeiger des Westens*, April 30, 1882.

such a Volkstheater in the Apollo (March 5 to May 28), and in August of the same year he made a short-lived attempt to institute a similar theatre in Union Park, Ninth Street and Allen Avenue, which notices such as the following were designed to make attractive: "Ferner kann man während der Vorstellung in aller Gemüthlichkeit sein Glas Bier trinken, eine Cigarre dazu rauchen, Sandwich, etc., verzehren, und sich an den auf der Bühne gebotenen Genüssen ergötzen." This was the last summer in which St. Louis enjoyed a Sommertheater.

On the seventeenth of September, 1882, the Apollo Theater again became the home of an operette and dramatic ensemble under the direction of Louis Genée. The plan to perform four times weekly abruptly culminated October 8. Although the ensemble included first-class talent, including the primadonna Maria König, it failed to gain the recognition of the public. Alwine Heynold, the soubrette of the organization, thereupon attempted to reorganize the theatre under her direction. The attempt netted less than a dozen performances (October 15 to November 26) ere it failed. Beginning with December 3, Victor and Hugo Sarner assumed charge of the Apollo. They played weekly on Sundays. After several performances they dissolved partnership. Hugo Sarner continued the season till May 20, essaying nothing more pretentious than *Posse* and *Lustspiel* which had been staged in St. Louis many times previously. After the fashion of the Volkstheater the performances were usually followed by a "Tanzkränzchen."

During this season while the Apollo was the home of weekly Sunday performances an attempt was made in the interest of a better ensemble and a more varied repertory to constitute a theatrical circuit of the three cities St. Louis, Milwaukee and Chicago. A paragraph taken from the *Anzeiger des Westens* for August 3, 1882, outlines the scheme.

"Das deutsche Theater in St. Louis wird im kommenden Winter unter Direktor Collmers Leitung stehen, der seit ein paar Jahren die Direktion eines der vielen Milwaukeeer Theater geführt hat. Die beiden anderen Mitglieder des Direktionstriumvirats, das die Bühnen in St. Louis, Chicago und Milwaukee nach

dem Co-operationsplan 'bewirtschaften' wird, sind Alexander Wurster und Major Isenstein. Alexander der Grosse hat Milwaukee zum Wirkungskreise erkoren, der Major bleibt bei seinen Laren und Penaten, d. h. in Chicago. Die drei Gesellschaften bilden faktisch *eine*; die Mitglieder wurden bald in St. Louis, bald in Chicago oder Milwaukee spielen, wohin immer sie einzeln oder als Ganzes (à la Meinungen) dirigirt werden. Auf diese Weise wird erstlich hier ein möglichst gutes ensemble gesorgt sein, zweitens wird das Repertoire die wünschenswerte, um nicht zu sagen nothwendige Abwechslung bieten und drittens wird der regelmässige Besucher nicht den ganzen Winter (d. h. vom October bis zum April) sich an ein und denselben Gesichtern müde sehen müssen. Das ist auch etwas werth."

Pope's Theatre was the home of the St. Louis performances. The season opened October 8. Performances were given weekly on Sundays. But the scheme failed to work. Disagreement among the directors early in December led to a dissolution. The St. Louis stage gave its last performance December 3.

The following winter the Apollo Theater was not used for German performances. The only German theatre St. Louis could boast of during this season consisted of a series of mediocre performances held on Sundays, from September 23, 1883, to April 27, 1884, under the joint directorship of Pelosi and Hugo Sarner, occasionally in Pope's Theatre, but more often in one or the other Turnhalle.

During the winter of 1884-85 Victor Sarner again assumed charge of the Apollo Theater, making of it a Volkstheater. Performances were given on Sundays from November 9 to May 10. The following winter Pelosi and Hugo Sarner again conducted the Apollo stage. They gave Sunday performances from September 20 to May 2. Though nominally this season not a Volkstheater, the theatre in fact did not amount to more.

During the winter of 1886-87 St. Louis again had no regularly established German theatre. In September Pelosi instituted German performances in the Apollo. His venture soon ended. October 24, Louis Menschke reopened the same theatre with a series of Sunday performances, which continued till the middle of

January, whereupon the theatre was again advertised for rent. April 3 it was again formally reopened, this time by Eduard Schmitz as a Volkstheater. Schmitz concluded the season in May after a half dozen Sunday performances.

While the Apollo was undergoing diverse changes of management, Hugo Sarner from September till April advertised occasional Sunday performances. But his ensemble had no regular home. It played first in one theatre, then in another.

Schmitz continued to conduct Sunday performances in the Apollo during the following four winter seasons (1887-1891). He was destined to be the last of the many directors of the German theatre the Apollo had had. The building was once more used as a German theatre during the season 1891-92, but under the name of Sarner's Theatre. Throughout the four winter seasons, while the Apollo was the home of German drama under Schmitz's direction—principally *Lustspiel* and *Posse*—Hugo Sarner with more or less regularity continued to give Sunday performances first on one, then another stage, usually in the Olympic theatre. Much that he presented was good, much mediocre, but at all events his performances mark an improvement over those in the Apollo during this period.

IV. 1891-1912.

A REVIVAL OF INTEREST. THE GERMANIA THEATER. THE DIRECTORSHIP OF HEINEMAN AND WELB.

The season 1890-91, the season which marks the termination of Schmitz's directorship in the Apollo Theater, for two reasons marks the beginning of a new era in the history of the German theatre in St. Louis. The season marks a decided increase in interest in the German theatre, which two years later was to culminate in the establishment of the Germania Theatre, the first attempt to establish a permanent German theatre in St. Louis to net tangible results since the closure of the St. Louis Opernhaus in 1862. And it marks the introduction of the modern German realistic drama on the St. Louis stage.

March 30, 1890, Hugo Sarner announced in the columns of

the *Anzeiger des Westens* his intention to stage performances in St. Louis twice weekly during the coming winter with an enlarged and improved ensemble. May 5 Hermann Riotte in the same paper outlined elaborate plans for a German theatrical season under his management. Friends of the theatre realized from past experience that three German theatres—including Schmitz's stage in the Apollo—would be more than the German theatre going public could support. They therefore persuaded Sarner and Riotte to join forces. Under their joint directorship Sarner and Riotte, October 19, 1890, opened the season with two simultaneous performances, one an opera performance—*Czaar und Zimmermann*—in the Grand Opera House, designed to attract the English-speaking as well as German-speaking public, the other a performance of Schönthan's *Salonstück Das Letzte Wort* in the Olympic Theatre. The two directors disagreed over the feasibility of continuing German opera in St. Louis and therefore amicably severed partnership October 22. Sarner agreed to withdraw from the field for the rest of the season. Riotte continued to produce both opera and drama till December 8. The opera company had included good individual soloists, but the chorus had been poor. The rest of the season, concluding April 5, was devoted to the drama. Performances were usually given four times weekly throughout the season, first in one, then in another theatre, on weekdays usually in the small auditorium of the Exposition Building at Thirteenth and Olive Streets, on Sundays usually in the Olympic Theatre. Attendance was fair. A new reason this season for the first time gained prominence in the columns of the press in argument for the maintenance of the German theatre, namely, the preservation of the German language to the youth of German parentage. "Hier gilt es zu zeigen, dass uns die Muttersprache lieb und werth, dass sie unser höchstes Gut ist; hier können wir beweisen, dass wir Sinn und Verständnis haben für die deutsche Kunst . . .; hier haben wir auch ein Mittel, bei unsern Kindern, besonders bei denen, die in den Flegel—beziehungsweise Backfischjahren stehen und so gern englisch plappern, die Liebe zur Sprache ihrer Eltern zu wecken."²⁰

²⁰ *Anzeiger des Westens*, October 19, 1890.

Under the directorship of Riotté Sudermann and Ibsen were for the first time introduced on the German stage in St. Louis. Sudermann's *Die Ehre* was given for the first time on Christmas Day 1890. "Der Eindruck, den das Stück machte, war geradezu grossartig, unbeschreiblich." *Die Ehre* was repeated December 27, January 1 and February 10. The excellencies of the play, above all the characterization the reviewer praised. But it took several years before the reviewer and the public became reconciled to the new realistic drama. Commenting upon the fourth performance of *Die Ehre* the critic wrote: "Allein *Die Ehre* ist vor wenigen Wochen mehrmals hinter einander hier aufgeführt worden, und es ist anzunehmen, dass jeder Theaterfreund, der sie sehen wollte, einer dieser Vorstellungen beigewohnt hat. Andernfalls ist der Inhalt des Stückes derartig, dass er kein reines Geniessen aufkommen lässt, und sich unter gewöhnlichen Umständen gewiss nur wenige entschliessen könnten, es zweimal anzusehen."⁴⁰

Ibsen's *Gespenster* was performed for the first time January 11, 1891. The critic condemned it in no uncertain terms. "Im Olympic Theater ist gestern Abend Heinrich Ibsen's 'Charakterbild' *Die Gespenster* über die Bühne gegangen. Es ist gegangen und hoffentlich kehrt es niemals wieder, das ist der fromme Wunsch, den wir dieser Aufführung nachsicken.—Nach unserer vielleicht veralteten Ansicht gehört dieses Stück des problematischen norwegischen Dichters nicht auf die Bühne. Es ist jeder Poesie bar, entbehrt jedes versöhnenden und befriedigenden Moments, jeder ansprechenden Figur, ist unschön, abgesehen von seiner klaren, knappen, packenden Sprache, und unwahr, weil unnatürlich. . . . Ibsen mag, wie seine Bewunderer sagen, der Dichter des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts sein, weshalb soll aber das neunzehnte Jahrhundert sich von seinen 'Gjengangere' anlügen und anekeln lassen? Ibsen behauptet, das Leben, die Wahrheit zu schildern. Der Reginen, der Engstrands und auch der Manders gibt's im Leben genug, aber ein wirkliches Wesen wie Frau Alving, gibt es zum Glück nicht. Wer ohne Voreingenommen-

⁴⁰ *Anzeiger des Westens*, February 11, 1891.

heit der gestrigen Aufführung beigewohnt hat, wird uns Recht geben, und trotz der vortrefflichen Darstellung war wohl ein jeder froh, als das Stück zu Ende war."⁴¹

The naturalistic French drama elicited the same type of criticism. Of Daudet's *Die beiden Compagnons* the reviewer in the *Anzeiger* for January 19 wrote: "Das Stück gehört zu jener bekannten französischen Ehebruchsdramen, mit denen wir uns nicht recht befreunden können." Benedix continued to prove more acceptable to the audience and to the critic. With reference to *Das bemooste Haupt* the latter on February 9, in the *Anzeiger* wrote: "Das Publikum . . . nahm alles, was zur Vermehrung der Rührung beitragen konnte, dankbar und willig an. Jedenfalls ein erfreulicher Beweis dafür, dass wir im Westen hier Gott sei Dank noch nicht blossirt sind."

The winter of 1891-92 again found the theatre under the directorship of Hugo Sarner. Sarner performed weekly in Sarner's Theatre, formerly the Apollo, now used for the last season for German theatricals, and occasionally in the Olympic Theatre, the Grand Opera House and the Exposition Building. His repertory from a literary standpoint marked a retrogression from that of the winter previous. Aside from a performance of *Othello*, in which Maurice Morrison appeared in the rôle of a star, the repertory offered nothing beyond oft repeated *Volksstücke*, *Lustspiel*, and *Posse*.

The Germania Theater.

Experience had demonstrated that a reputable German theatre could only be possible if it had its own home and was not compelled to journey from Sunday to Sunday from one theatre to another, as had in recent years been the case. For the English theatres had begun during the past decade to utilize their respective stages for English drama on Sunday evenings, making it impossible to find a suitable stage for German drama. To the end of establishing a permanent German theatre meetings had been held. July 14, 1891, fourteen prominent Germans finally formed an organization which incorporated as the "German Dra-

⁴¹ *Anzeiger des Westens*, January 12, 1891.

matic Association." These fourteen stockholders were: S. H. Leathe, William J. Lemp, Chas. G. Stifel, Chas. F. Orthwein, A. Griesediech, Geo. D. Capen, John C. Nulsen, J. H. Conrades, G. Cramer, Ad. Böckeler, A. Moll, H. Duncker, Geo. J. Fritz and William Schreiber. They bought an old Presbyterian Church at Fourteenth Street and Lucas Place, which they had remodelled and termed the Germania Theater. The building equalled in elegance the former Opernhaus of Börnstein's day.

Under the most favorable auspices the theatre was opened on the fourth of September with a large ensemble, under the direction of Carl Waldemar and Ed. C. Buechel. Its list of subscribers for the season included the most prominent Germans of the city. Shakespeare's *Wintermärchen* was staged at the initial performance. The interest manifested by the public in the new theatre is attested by the controversy which was waged by contributors to the columns of the press concerning the propriety of the selection of a play in keeping with the occasion. Waldemar therefore felt himself obliged to justify his choice in a communication published in the *Anzeiger* for August 21, 1892, in which he says in part:

"Ich bin selbst sehr lange mit dem Gedanken umgegangen, das deutsche Theater mit einem Stücke deutschen Ursprungs zu eröffnen. Hierfür können naturgemäss nur Goethe, Schiller oder Lessing in Betracht kommen. Gute Lustspiele haben aber diese unsere Dichter-Heroen, mit Ausnahme vielleicht (?) von Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*, welches Stück für eine Festvorstellung indess viel zu einfach, nicht; und das neue Bühnenhaus mit einem Drama zu eröffnen, dazu konnte ich mich erst recht nicht entschliessen. Ausserdem kommen bei einer Eröffnungs-Vorstellung noch so viele andere Factoren in Betracht, von denen der Laie absolut nichts weiss, nichts wissen kann, mit denen wir indessen höchst bedeutsam zu rechnen haben, dass schon aus solchen Gründen unsere Wahl nur zu berechtigt erscheinen muss. Es handelt sich bei der Eröffnung des neuen Theaters zur Hauptsache auch darum, das gesammte Bühnenpersonal dem Publikum im günstigsten Lichte, d. h. in guten Rollen vorzuführen.— Das ist der Fall im *Wintermärchen*. . . . Hier sind ca. 15

gute Rollen, in denen meine Mitglieder ihre Leistungsfähigkeit bethätigen können. Ferner kann ich die grossartigsten Decorations-Effekte hier zu Geltung bringen; grosse Massen-Scenen, blendende Costüme, wie eine herrliche, zum *Wintermärchen* eigens componirte Musik tragen weiter das Ihrige zum Gelingen des Ganzen in schönster Weise bei, kurzum, es muss um jeden Preis mit der Erst-Aufführung in jeder Beziehung ein voller Erfolg erzielt werden und deshalb eben wählte ich für diese Shakespeare's *Wintermärchen*."

He then cites Schlegel's estimate of the play and concludes by finding a precedent for his selection in that the new "Wiener Hofburg Theater" was opened under the direction of Dr. August Förster with the same Shakespearian drama.

Performances during this season were give four or five times weekly, concluding May 28. In addition to the performances given in St. Louis, the ensemble played fifteen times in Chicago, nine times in Belleville, eight times in Omaha, six times in Kansas City, and twice in St. Joseph and in Peoria. From a financial standpoint the season ended with a deficit, due largely to a loss of \$3000 incurred on the visit of the company to Chicago, where the poor location of the theatre and bad weather combined to keep down the patronage.

From a literary standpoint the stage during this season ranked high. Of 121 plays performed during the season 30 possessed recognized literary quality. The repertory included two performances each of Goethe's *Faust* and Shakespeare's *Wintermärchen*, and one performance each of Goethe's *Egmont*, Schiller's *Braut von Messina*, *Don Carlos*, *Fiesco*, *Jungfrau von Orleans*, *Kabale und Liebe*, *Maria Stuart*, *Piccolomini*, *Räuber*, and *Wallenstein's Lager*, Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* and *Emilie Galotti*, Shakespeare's *Othello*, *Romeo und Julie*, und *Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung*, Gutzkow's *Uriel Acosta*, Kleist's *Käthchen von Heilbronn*, Laube's *Graf Essex*, Raimund's *Verschwender*, and Wildenbruch's *Quitzeos*. Of the realistic drama Ibsen's *Stützen der Gesellschaft* and Wildenbruch's *Haubenlerche* were each presented once, Sudermann's *Die Ehre* and *Die Heimat* each twice.

The realistic drama failed, still, to gain the approval of the critic. Judging from the limited number of repetitions such plays received, they were not yet in favor with the public.

Alexander Wurster was engaged to direct the theatre for the next three years. With practically a new ensemble he opened the first season September 17, 1893. It concluded April 22. The second lasted from September 23 till April 21. He opened the third season September 29, and again, as during the two years previous, he played thrice weekly. He exerted every effort to make the theatre a success. But the time chosen to establish a German theatre in St. Louis, as the sequel of events showed, was inopportune. The first season in the Germania had ended with a deficit. During the first four weeks under Wurster's management the income had amounted to no more than one-half the expense of the enterprise. By the middle of the third season under his management Wurster was constrained to give up the directorship. He ascribed the non-success of the theatre primarily to the growing indifference on a large part of the German public toward German performances. In a curtain speech made on the evening of January 19, in which he announced his withdrawal from the stage, he said in part:

"Es ist hart und bitter für meine selbstlosen und edlen Bestrebungen, am Ende meines arbeitsvollen Lebens angelangt, einsehen und beklagen zu müssen, dass das Interesse am deutschen Theater immer mehr erkaltet und der Geschmack unserer heranwachsenden Jugend sich lieber den amerikanischen Schaustellungen zuwendet.

"Viele der treuesten Anhänger meines Unternehmens hat seit meinem Hiersein der Tod ereilt, andere sind durch irgend welche Beeinflussungen fortgeblieben, wieder andere haben sich vielleicht durch irgend ein unbesonnenes Wort meinerseits beleidigt gefühlt, andere müssen in ihre Vereinsversammlungen, Clubs und Logen und wieder andere sind zu alt und zu bequem geworden oder spielen Skat und trinken Bier dazu, und neue Freunde und Gönner hat das Unternehmen leider nur wenige gefunden.

" . . . Ich scheide mit dem Bewusstsein, Alles versucht und getan zu haben, was in meinen Verhältnissen nur möglich war, um ein Unternehmen am Leben zu halten, welches mit Treue und Liebe geleitet und welches ich jetzt mit tiefer Schmerz und Wehmuth in andere Hände übergeben lassen muss."⁴²

The fact that St. Louis today still maintains interest in German drama sufficient to support a permanent company would indicate that much of the financial non-success of the Germania Theatre during these years was due to the financial panic which swept the country in 1893.

In order to insure a continuation of the theatrical season a number of friends of the German drama immediately at a meeting presided over by Dr. Emil Preetorius, organized the Germania Theater Verein. Membership in the association merely implied that the member pledged himself to subscribe to a certain number of performances for the rest of the season. The Verein rented the Germania Theater and engaged the ensemble which had been playing under Wurster, for three months. Oscar Teuscher, a member of the company, was engaged as stage manager. Under this arrangement the season was successfully brought to a conclusion April 24, 1896, whereupon the Theater Verein, having fulfilled its purpose, ceased to be.

At the close of the season a new Germania Theater Verein was at once organized, with the purpose of again insuring a German theatre in the Germania for the coming season. May 22, 1896, St. Louis was visited by a devastating tornado which left in its wake damage to property and real estate amounting to more than \$10,000,000. The section of the city where those dwelt upon whom the German theatre depended for its patronage was the section most affected by the storm. The owners of the Germania Theater, which had not proved a paying financial investment, therefore saw no bright prospects for a successful German theatrical season for the ensuing winter. Inasmuch as the

⁴² *Anzeiger des Westens*, January 20, 1896.

Theater Verein had made no definite request for the building by the end of June, the owners at that time rented it to a theatrical manager who purposed to use it for English performances. The Germania Theater Verein in a meeting June 29 therefore decided, inasmuch as it could find no theatre available for German performances, not to institute a German stage under its auspices during the coming season, but to keep its organization intact with a view to again becoming active in the future.

During the season of 1896-97 St. Louis was not, however, to be without a German theatre. Richard Stolte, beginning with October 11 staged plays weekly on Sundays in one of several auditoriums, usually in the New Century Theatre at Ninth and Olive Streets or in the Olympic. But the season was in no sense a success. It marked a decided retrogression. The repertory contained little other than time-worn *Volksstück*, *Lustspiel* and *Posse*. Ibsen's *Nora oder ein Puppenheim* was presented once, but not without changing the muchly criticized conclusion of the play, whereby the director won the approval of the press critic, who wrote:

“Bei der Leichtigkeit, mit welcher die jungen Leute heutzutage, wenn sie kaum die Kinderschuhen entwachsen sind, in die Ehe hinein und sehr häufig auch wieder hinauszuspringen pflegen, darf man sich wohl gestehen, dass ernste Betrachtungen über den Gegenstand wohl angebracht sind und Ibsen's erschütterndes Seelengemälde manches gute bewirken kann, ohne dass man allen Ansichten und Folgerungen des Verfassers beizupflichten braucht.—Direktor Stolte hat, wohl aus Mitleid für sein Publikum, den Schluss eigenmächtig abgeändert und liess durch Vermittlung der Kinder eine Versöhnung der Ehegatten anbahnen. Die starren Ibsenverehrer werden darüber wohl die Hände über den Kopf zusammenschlagen und über Inconsequenz zetern. Wir aber sind der Ansicht, dass Inconsequenz eine sehr menschliche Eigenschaft ist und sogar bei Frauen hier und da vorkommt. Deshalb nehmen wir es Nora nicht übel, wenn sie sich durch den Anblick ihrer Kinder zur Umkehr bewegen lässt, und stehen in

diesem Falle auf Seiten des menschenfreundlichen Direktors gegen den starrköpfigen Dichter."⁴³

Part of the epilog composed by the journalist E. D. Kargau, for many years a staunch supporter of the German stage in St. Louis, which was spoken by Director Stolte at the concluding performance of the season, March 21, will serve to summarize the season's activities.

"Die deutsche Kunst besass nach langer Bitte
Ein eignes Heim, das leider sie verlor.
—Nun zieht umher sie nach Nomadensitte,
Ein obdachloses Kind, von Thor zu Thor.—
Der Thespiskarren war stets auf der Reise
In ruhelosem Zug bald hier, bald dort.
Und kommt zu früh er jetzt aus dem Geleise,
So ist's nicht unsre Schuld, glaubt mir's aufs Wort.

"Dazu der schwere Druck der schlechten Zeiten,
War's doch ein böses Jahr für's ganze Land—
Bei der politischen Parteien Streiten
Hat ja die Kunst stets einen schweren Stand.—
Wo Handel und Gewerbe liegt darnieder
Wird selbst ein üpp'ger Boden unfruchtbar.
Vom Reif getroffen blüht sobald nicht wieder,
Was einst des Gartens schönste Zierde war.

"Zum Hemmschuh ward der Kunst bescheidnem Hoffen
Noch Anderes im letzt' verfloss'nen Jahr—
Sie wird sogar vom Wirbelsturm betroffen,
Wenn zwar auch nicht direkt, doch mittelbar.—
Gar mancher, der in frühern Zeiten gerne,
So oft gespielt ward, ins Theater kam,
Blieb ihm in diesem Winter gänzlich ferne,
Weil der Tornado ihm sein Alles nahm.

⁴³ *Anzeiger des Westens*, October 18, 1896.

“Und wie sich so die Hindernisse türmten
Blich, selbstverständlich, der Erfolg auch aus;
Wenn abends gar noch Schnee und Regen stürmten,
Da spielten oft wir vor halbleerem Haus.—
Ihr werdet drum es für begreiflich halten,
Dass die Saison so früh schon kommt zum Schluss—
Wir weichen gleichsam höheren Gewalten,
Denn zu gehorchen zwingt das harte ‘Muss’.”⁴⁴

Stolte the following season again attempted a German stage in St. Louis, this time in the former Broadway Theatre, a small theatre on South Broadway, between Market and Walnut Streets. The season opened September 23. An attempt was made to play daily. The enterprise met with little response on the part of the public, therefore abruptly came to a conclusion October 25. After several benefit performances following Stolte's withdrawal from the theatre, the building became the home of English vaudeville.

The next two seasons the Germania Theatre was again the home of German drama. The first of these seasons the theatre was under the able stage direction of Georg Heinemann, who gave performances twice weekly from October 2, 1898, till April 16, 1899. From an artistic standpoint the season was a success. But financially it ended with a deficit. Though the German Dramatic Association, the owners of the theatre, made deductions from the amount of rental the contract with Heinemann called for, the latter claimed to have personally lost \$800 in the venture, aside from receiving no salary. He therefore refused to resume charge of the Germania Theater the following season.

The season in the Germania during the winter of 1899-1900 was made possible by a guarantee fund subscribed to by generous individuals. With the help of this fund Mme. Anna Frandsch-Diel (of Cleveland) agreed to assume charge of the Germania. She opened the season October 1 and performed two and three times weekly till April 1. The season was only a moderate suc-

⁴⁴ *Anzeiger des Westens*, March 22, 1897.

cess. The ensemble for the season was limited. Mme. Frandsch could not therefore stage serious drama nor carry out her avowed intention to introduce modern plays. Aside from one performance each of Schiller's *Maria Stuart*, Fulda's *Die Sklav'in* and *Die wilde Jagd*, and Wilbrandt's *Die Tochter des Herrn Fabricius*, her stage offered nothing of literary importance.

The Germania Theater for the following two years was again the home of an English stage.

While Mme. Frandsch was staging German drama in the Germania, Heinemann regularly conducted performances with a separate ensemble in the Olympic Theatre on Sundays from October 8 till April 22. The season was from the standpoint of attainment a success. The *Westliche Post* for April 23, 1900, summarizes it in the following eulogistic terms:

"*Summa cum laude!* Mit diesem in der gestrigen Schlussaufführung der Heinemannschen Theatergesellschaft im Olympic so oft gebrauchten Ausdrucke möchten wir die letzte Saison charakterisiren—d. h. nur so weit die Leistungen auf der Bühne in Betracht kommen. Wohl hat die Direktion in der Auswahl der aufzuführenden Stücke gelegentlich einen Missgriff gemacht, doch lässt sich daraus kaum ein Vorwurf für sie schmieden. . . . Die aufzuführenden Stücke waren durchweg gut einstudirt, hübsch inszenirt und gingen flott über die Bretter. Das Ensemble war stets tadellos und die Hauptkräfte derselben lieferten uns Leistungen, die weit über das Durchschnittsmass hinausgingen und den Theaterbesuchern noch lange eine angenehme Erinnerung bilden werden.—Leider kann dem deutschen Publikum nicht dasselbe gute Zeugniß ausgestellt werden. Es waren fast Sonntag für Sonntag die alten Gesichter zu sehen, und manche Vorstellung, besonders in den letzten Wochen, war sehr dürrtig besucht. Unter diesen Umständen ist es, was Direktion und Künstler betrifft, doppelt anerkennenswert, dass die Saison, welche in finanzieller Beziehung kein 'glänzender Erfolg' war, überhaupt durchgeführt wurde."

The following season (October 7, 1900, till April 21, 1901) Heinemann staged Sunday performances in the Olympic, this

time under joint direction with Ferdinand Welb, who had for years been director of the Pabst Theater in Milwaukee. Before the opening of the season the Theater Verein was again brought to life. Its members paid but a small monthly due, for which they received the privilege of reduction in price of admission to the theatre on condition that they buy a certain number of tickets per month. This Theater Verein continues to exist today. It has since its organization been an important factor in the support of the German theatre in St. Louis. Its purpose is not only to help the German theatre, but also to provide for its members social gatherings of one sort or another from time to time, including the summer months, when these social features have frequently assumed the nature of picnics and boat excursions.

During the season of 1901-1902 and 1902-1903 Heinemann and Welb played twice weekly in the Germania Theater, and as during the season 1900-1901, once weekly in Belleville. The end of the season 1902-1903 marked the termination of the Germania Theater. The building had not been a financial success as a German theatre; its owners therefore disposed of it. It has since that time been the home of an English stage. Under the name of the Gayety Theatre it is at the present time the home of English vaudeville.

The German drama therefore had to seek a new home. Beginning with the season 1903-1904 the Odeon, an auditorium seating two thousand, centrally located at Grand and Finney Avenues, became the home of German drama. With the exception of the season 1904-1905, when Heinemann and Welb utilized the Olympic Theatre on Sunday evenings for their stage, the Odeon continued to be the regular home of the German drama till the opening in 1913 of the present Victoria Theater.

The joint directorship of Heineman and Welb of the German stage in St. Louis continued till Heinemann's death, February 2, 1908. Welb, who had been stage manager while Heinemann assumed charge of the business phases of the directorship, then continued as sole director till his death, October 2, 1910. Mme. Welb assumed charge of the theatre after her husband's de-

mise and under her directorship brought the season of 1910-1911 to a conclusion. Since 1911 Hans Loebel, the present director of the Victoria Theater, has been in charge of the German stage in St. Louis.

The history of the German stage under the directorship of Heinemann and Welb after the termination of the Germania Theater and during the seasons of 1910-11 and 1911-12 was one of even tenor. Performances were given regularly on Sunday evenings from October till April or May. Attendance was fair. The season of 1905-1906 ended with a small deficit. But usually the theatre was a financial success without the aid of subsidy or guarantee. In several instances it became necessary to forestall an impending deficit by exhortation to better attendance in the columns of the press and in speeches before the curtain in the theatre. In such instances the public responded promptly. Throughout these years an unusually cordial relation existed between the directorship and the members of the ensemble and the public, as reflected in press comment from time to time. The press always granted liberal space to a review of the plays which, as far as the dramatic presentation was concerned, were almost universally complimentary, though it took several years after the introduction of the realistic drama before the reviewer began to comment upon them in a conciliatory tone.

V. 1911-1914.

THE PRESENT DIRECTORSHIP. THE VICTORIA THEATER.

When the Germania Theater was permanently closed to the German drama in 1903, those most interested in the continuance of the German stage at once began to formulate plans for the building of a new theatre. The plans slowly materialized. In the course of time the *Deutscher Theaterbau-Gesellschaft* was organized. In order to interest as many Germans as possible in the theatre it was planned not to allow a few men to build and own the new theatre and therefore to control its destiny, but to issue stock at ten dollars per share to as many individuals as possible.

Initially the capital stock of the Theaterbau-Gesellschaft was fixed at \$75,000. On the first of April, 1907, one-half of this total was called in. Immediately a building site was purchased on which to erect the proposed theatre. But it soon became manifest that a larger capital stock would be needed in order to insure a theatre of any consequence. The venture then dragged until the spring of 1912, when the directorate of the building association again brought the project before the public. The association voted to increase its capital stock and commenced building operations at once. The building, located on the north side of Delmar Boulevard, west of Grand Avenue, was completed at a cost of about \$150,000, owned by between 500 and 600 stockholders. At the time the building was opened the Board of Directors was made up of the following men of prominence: Leo Rassieur, President; Edward Westen, Vice-President; J. A. Valentin Schmidt, Secretary; Henry Heil, Treasurer; Edward L. Preetorius, John R. Payten, Hans Loebel, Frank W. Feuerbacher, Jacob D. Goldman, Hans Hackel, Frank Tombridge, Fred Widman and Henry Walk.

The new theatre—the Victoria Theatre—was formally opened March 1, 1913, under the artistic directorship of Hans Loebel, who had opened the season October 6, 1912, in the Odeon, where, as pointed out above, he had also directed the German stage in 1911-1912. At this opening performance Goethe's *Faust* was given. Mlle. Käte Herbst, leading lady of the Papst Theater in Milwaukee, and C. G. Ackermann, of the Deutsches Theater in New York, appeared in the rôles of Gretchen and Mephistopheles, respectively, assisted in the other parts by members of the local stock company.

The Victoria Theater under Loebel's direction has been an artistic success. The season 1912-1913, concluding April 24, ended with a small deficit. The season 1913-1914 (October 5 till May 10) ended with a deficit of approximately \$12,000. These deficits were readily made up by subscription among the more enthusiastic supporters of the German stage. As the deficits indicate, the German theatre does not receive support from

- the German element at large in St. Louis in the measure it deserves. But the relative smallness of the deficits, compared with those of New York, Milwaukee, and other places, speaks well for the extent of interest in the German drama that still does exist in the city. At present German performances continue to be given in the Victoria Theatre once weekly on Sunday evenings throughout the season from October till May. In addition to these performances a half dozen mid-week performances have for several seasons past been given in other auditoriums under the auspices of the "Kunstbienen," an organization of German women interested in the furtherance of German art and culture. These mid-week performances have been devoted principally to the modern realistic drama.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ For the repertory of the German stage under Hans Loebel's directorship, see Appendix.

APPENDIX.

STATISTICAL SURVEY OF THE SEVERAL STAGES.

For comparative purposes the statistical survey of the several stages for the various periods in the history of the German drama on the St. Louis stage is arranged in tabulated form. Under Table A I, A II, etc., are recorded the relative number of authenticated performances for different types of plays and the percentage of plays of a given type performed on a particular stage compared to the total number of plays performed on that stage. In order to indicate the relative literary value of the several stages the plays of the authors who receive recognition in the annals of German literary history are tabulated separately in Table B I, B II, etc.

I. 1842-1859.

THE BEGINNINGS.

In the instance of the Volkstheater a number of stages during the period in the history of the German drama on the St. Louis stage ending with the establishment of the St. Louis Opernhaus at times announced performances without giving the title of plays to be staged. Moreover, as protests in the newspaper columns indicate, in some instances titles of plays were changed *ad libitum*, making it impossible, inasmuch as the casts of characters were not printed, to identify such plays. In several instances extant records present slight gaps (*cf. Preface*) and therefore do not permit reconstruction of the repertory of the contemporary theatres with completeness. Statistical information contained in the tables for this period is therefore based upon repertories which are representative, but cannot represent scientific accuracy.

TABLE A I.

Abbreviations: LT—all Liebhabertheater antedating the Philodramatische Gesellschaft (-Ph). TH—Turnhalle 1857-1859. B—Benrodt-Bötzow. W—Hermann-Wolff. Kl—Klün-der, including performances by his company after he resigned

management. R—Ruedi's Volksgarten, including performances November 21, 1860, to March 31, 1861. St—St. Louis Stadttheater. Fl—Flora Garten. Ap—Apollo Garten. VT—all Volkstheater performances, except R, St, Fl, Ap. Av—average percentage for all plays recorded for the period of the beginnings. In this and subsequent tables figures in left-hand columns indicate number of performances, those in right-hand column percentages.

	LT	Ph	TH	B	W	KL
Trauerspiel	23:14—	1:01—	1:01—	3:04	2:03—	1:01—
Schauspiel, Drama ...	43:25+	4:07+	7:12—	17:23—	22:28—	19:21—
Volksstück, Charakter- gemälde, etc. ...	9:05+	4:07+	4:07—	8:11—	10:13—	12:13+
Lustspiel	59:35—	27:50	22:37—	21:28	15:19—	17:18+
Posse, Schwank, etc..	24:14+	15:28—	18:30	23:24—	19:24+	36:39+
Singspiel, Vaude- ville, etc.	11:07—	2:04—	8:13+	3:04	9:11+	6:07—
Operette	1:01—	1:01—	0: 0	0: 0	2:03—	1:01—
Total	170:	54:	60:	75:	79:	92:

	R	St	Fl	Ap	VT	Total Av.
Trauerspiel	2:01—	0: 0	4:02+	2:02+	1:01—	40:03—
Schauspiel, Drama ..	56:16—	13:13—	27:14—	15:16+	27:10+	250:02—
Volksstück, Charakter- gemälde, etc.	53:15—	4:04—	19:10—	13:14—	26:10—	162:10+
Lustspiel	137:38+	34:34—	76:38+	14:15+	90:34+	430:28—
Posse, Schwank, etc. .	86:24+	37:37—	68:34+	44:47+	102:42+	554:04—
Singspiel, Vaude- ville, etc.	22:06+	6:06—	5:03—	5:05+	15:06—	92:06—
Operette	1:01—	7:07—	0: 0	0: 0	3:01+	16:01—
Total	357:	101:	199:	93:	264:	1544:

TABLE B I.

(Abbreviations as in Table A I. Figures indicate number of times performed.)

GOETHE: Clavigo LT1, Faust B1, St1, Fl1. SCHILLER: Kabale und Liebe LT4, TH2, B1, R1, Fl1, Maria Stuart LT1, Die Räuber LT5, W1, KL3, R2, VT1, Wallensteins Lager W1, Wallensteins Tod LT3, Wilhelm Tell LT4, B2, W1, Kl1, R3.

LESSING: *Minna von Barnhelm* * 1. SHAKESPEARE: *Hamlet* LT1, R1, *Der Kaufmann von Venedig* LT5, W1, *Macbeth* LT5, *Othello* LT3, *Romeo und Julie* R1, *Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung*** LT1, Ph2, TH2, B1, R4, St2, Fl4, VT2. GRILLPARZER: *Die Ahnfrau* LT2, Kl2. GUTZKOW: *Das Urbild der Tartüffe* TH1, Uriel Acosta B1, W1, Fl2, Ap1, VT1, *Zopf und Schwert* Ap1. KOERNER: *Die Braut* VT1, *Hedwig, die Banditenbraut* LT2, B3, St3, Fl2, VT3, *Das Kätschen von Heilbron* LT1, B1, R2, St1, Fl1, *Kriegers Heimkehr* R3, *Der Nachtwächter* LT1, TH1, B1, R1, VT1, Toni LT1, R1, Zriny LT2, W1. LAUBE: *Graf Essex* Ap1, *Die Karlsschüler* Ap1, VT2, *Prinz Friedrich* Ap1. RAIMUND: *Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind* W3, Kl1, R3, *Der Bauer als Millionär* Ap2, *Der Verschwender* Ph3, W2, Kl1, St1, Fl1, Ap2.

II. 1859-1861.

THE ST. LOUIS OPERNHAUS.

Extant records for the performances from April 21 to October 19, 1860, are incomplete (*cf. Preface*). The reconstructed repertory for the Opernhaus is, however, practically complete, for fifteen of the theatrical performances for the period between April 21 and October 19 are accounted for, and it was during this period that the performances of the Colson and the New Orleans opera companies, of the Siegrist-Zamfretta corps de ballet and of the concert company of Anna Bishop alternated with the German theatrical performances.

*Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* was performed on February 18, 1857, at a "klassischer Bühnen-Abend," arranged by Börnstein to celebrate the organization of the "Deutsches Institut für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Gewerbe." The program, carried out by an ensemble made up of the best talent on Wolff's stage and former members of the Philodramatische Gesellschaft, was made up of the Overture to Weber's *Freischütz*, a prologue composed and spoken by Börnstein, Beethoven's Overture to *Egmont*, a scene from *Egmont*, the Overture to Mozart's *Zauberflöte*, a scene from *Kabale und Liebe*, Weber's Overture to *Oberon*, and *Minna von Barnhelm*.

**Usually given in Holbein's version, *Die bezülmte Widerspenstige*.

TABLE A II.

Trauerspiel	36:11+
Schauspiel, Drama	54:20+
Volksstück, Charaktergemälde, etc.	36:13+
Lustspiel	37:14—
Posse, Schwank, etc.*	100:37+
Singspiel, Vaudeville, etc.	6:02+
Total	269:

TABLE B II.

GOETHE: Egmont 1, Faust 4, Götz 1. SCHILLER: Don Karlos 2, Fiesco 2, Jungfrau von Orleans 1, Kabale und Liebe 3, Maria Stuart 2, Die Räuber 2, Wallensteins Tod 4, Wilhelm Tell 1. SHAKESPEARE: Hamlet 3, Kaufmann von Venedig 1, Lear 1, Macbeth 1, Othello 2, Romeo und Julie 1. GUTZKOW: Das Urbild der Tartüffe 1. LAUBE: Graf Essex 1, Die Karlsruhler 1, Montrose, der schwarze Markgraf 3, Prinz Friedrich 1. RAIMUND: Der Barometermacher 24, Der Verschwender 2.

III. 1861-1891.

A. 1861-1867. *A New Era Begins. The Directorship of Wilhelm Koser.*

B. 1867-1870. *An Uneventful Period of Decline.*

TABLE A III AB.

Abbreviations: A—Pfeiffer directorship May 18 to October 21, 1862; B—Rosinski-Föllger-Böttner directorship June 1 to August 24, 1862; C—Koser directorship 1862-1867; D—Lewen's directorship May 21 to September 24, 1865; E—Föllger directorship May 3 to August 17, 1866; F—the Apollo stage 1867-1870.

*Including 24 performances of Raimund's *Barometermacher*, and 17 performances of *Der Zauberschleier*, adapted from Scribe by Told.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
Trauerspiel	0: 0	0: 0	46:05—	3:02+	4:04	27:03—
Schauspiel, Drama ...	22:21+	1:03—	184:19+	29:21—	15:13—	107:11—
Volksstück, Charakter-						
gemälde, etc.	5:05—	4:11—	145:15+	16:11—	24:21—	145:14+
Lustspiel	49:47+	10:26+	236:25—	47:31+	28:24—	224:22+
Posse, Schwank, etc..	28:27—	23:61—	232:25—	41:28—	27:23+	316:31+
Singspiel, etc.	0: 0	0: 0	55:06—	12:08+	10:09—	84:08+
Oper, Operette	0: 0	0: 0	47:05—	0: 0	9:08—	115:11+
Total	104:	38:	945:	148:	117:	1018:

C. 1870-1880. Opera on the Apollo Stage 1870-1875. The Pelosi Directorship 1871-1880.

D. 1880-1891. A Period of Varying Fortune.

TABLE A III CD.

Abbreviations: G—the Apollo stage, summer 1870 to June 22, 1875, exclusive of the winter season 1870-1871, during which Pelosi had charge of the Apollo stage; H—the Pelosi directorship 1871-1880; I—German performances in De Bar's Opera House 1876-1877; J—performances under Wurster's directorship 1876-1878; K—the Rieckhoff directorship 1879-1882; L—Wurster's directorship 1881-1882; M—Pelosi-Sarner directorship 1883-1884; N—the Apollo under Schmitz 1887-1891; X—all performances for the period 1861-1891 not included under the above headings; T—total number of performances; Av—average percentage for all plays recorded for the period 1861-1891.

	G	H	I	J	K	L
Trauerspiel	10:01—	12:03+	1:02—	3:04+	5:03—	0: 0
Schauspiel, Drama ..	78:08+	59:15+	6:12—	8:11+	15:08—	7:13—
Volksstück, Charakter-						
gemälde, etc.	150:17—	69:18+	17:33+	20:28+	32:17—	12:22—
Lustspiel	107:11+	97:25+	9:18—	20:28+	61:32+	21:36+
Posse, Schwank, etc..	131:14—	138:36+	7:13+	19:27—	49:26—	12:22—
Singspiel, etc.	37:04—	1:01—	7:13+	1:01+	10:05+	0: 0
Oper, Operette	431:47+	5:01+	4:08—	0: 0	18:09+	3:05+
Total	944:	381:	51:	71:	190:	55:

	M	N	X	T Av.
Trauerspiel	3:10+	1:01—	9:02—	124:03—
Schauspiel, Drama	1:03+	32:17+	46:10—	610:13—
Volksstück, Charaktergemälde, etc.	3:10+	47:26—	88:18+	777:16+
Lustspiel	8:28—	14:08—	110:23—	1041:22—
Posse, Schwank, etc.	14:48+	72:39+	189:39+	1298:27+
Singspiel, etc.	0: 0	2:01+	16:03+	235:05—
Oper, Operette	0: 0	15:08+	21:04	668:14+
Total	29:	183:	479:	4753:

TABLE B III.

(Abbreviations as in Table A III, a, b, c, d.)

GOETHE: Clavigo F2, Egmont F1, G3, H1, Faust C4, E1, F1, J1, Iphigenie X2. SCHILLER: Die Braut von Messina C5, F1, H1, Don Carlos C1, F1, K1, Fiesco C1, D1, Jungfrau von Orleans C5, F1, H1, K1, M1, Kabale und Liebe C2, F1, G2, J1, X1, Maria Stuart C3, E1, F2, H1, K1, M1, Die Räuber C9, D1, F3, G1, H3, K1, N1, X1, Wallensteins Lager C2, F2, H1, Wallensteins Tod C1, Wilhelm Tell C4, F2, H4, N1, X1. GOZZI (SCHILLER): Turandot F2. LESSING: Emilia Galotti D1, Nathan der Weise C1, L1, X1. SHAKESPEARE: Hamlet C4, F5, H1, K1, Kaufmann von Venedig C3, G1, X3, Die Komödie von Irrungen N1, Die lustige Weiber von Windsor D1, Macbeth F1, Othello C1, F3, G1, J1, X1, Richard III C1, Romeo und Julie C1, D1, F1, Ein Sommernachtstraum F1, Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung C1, F3, H1, L1, K1, Ein Wintermärchen C5. ANZENGRUBER: Der Herrgottschneider von Ammergau N2, Herz und Hand J2, Der Meineidbauer G6, K1, N1, Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld G3, N1. FREYTAG: Graf Waldemar K1, Die Journalisten F1, H1, K1, Die Valentine C1, K1. GEIBEL: Brunhild X1. GRILLPARZER: Medea C2, H2, M1. GUTZKOW: Der dreizehnte November C1, Der Königsleutnant C2, E2, F2, L1, K2, Richard Savage D1, Das Urbild des Tartüffe D3, K1, Uriel Acosta C6, G1, I1, N1, Zopf und Schwerdt C2, E1, G1, H1, K1. HEBBEL: Genoveva C3, F2, G1, N2. KLEIST: Das Käthchen von Heilbronn C3, F2, G3, H1, K1, N3. LAUBE: Böse Zungen F4, H4, Graf Essex C3, D1, E1, F2, H2, Die Karlschüler A1, C5, H3, X1, Montrose X1, Prinz Friedrich G3. RAIMUND: Der

Alpenkönig C3, F1, Der Barometermacher G7, Der Bauer als Millionär C5, F1, Der Verschwender C4, D2, E1, F4, G4, I1, X1.

IV. 1891-1911.

A REVIVAL OF INTEREST. THE GERMANIA THEATER. THE DIRECTORSHIP OF HEINEMANN AND WELB.

TABLE A IV.

Abbreviations: A—the German stage under the directorship of Sarner and Riotte 1890-1891; B—under Sarner 1891-1892; C—the Germania Theater under Waldemar and Buechel 1892-1893; D—the Germania under Wurster 1893-1896; E—the stage under Stolte 1896-1898; F—the Germania under Mme. Frandsch 1899-1900; G—the directorship of Heinemann and Welb 1898-1911. T—total number of plays staged during the period 1891-1911; Av—average percentage for all plays recorded for this period.

	A	B	C	D
Trauerspiel	1:01—	1:03—	13:11—	10:04—
Schauspiel, Drama	19:24—	0: 0	34:28+	67:24+
Volksstück, Charaktergemälde, etc.	9:11+	5:14—	9:07—	42:15+
Lustspiel	24:30	8:22+	40:33+	65:23+
Posse, Schwank, etc.	13:16+	22:61+	24:20—	91:33—
Singspiel, etc.	3:04—	0: 0	0: 0	0: 0
Operette	11:14—	0: 0	1:01—	3:01+
Total	80:	36:	121:	278:

	E	F	G	T Av
Trauerspiel	4:06—	1:01—	18:03+	48:04—
Schauspiel, Drama	6:08—	10:18—	129:22+	265:22—
Volksstück, Charaktergemälde, etc.	19:27—	13:23+	104:18—	201:16+
Lustspiel	16:23—	11:20—	147:25+	311:25+
Posse, Schwank, etc.	17:24—	20:36—	164:29—	351:29—
Singspiel, etc.	0: 0	0: 0	3:01—	6:01—
Operette	9:13—	1:01—	18:03+	43:04—
Total	71:	56:	583:	1225:

TABLE B IV.

(Abbreviations as in Table A IV.)

GOETHE: Egmont C1, Faust C2, D1. SCHILLER: Die Braut von Messina C1, G1, Don Carlos C1, G1, Fiesco C1, G1, Jungfrau von Orleans C1, D1, G1, Kabale und Liebe A1, C1, D1, G3, Maria Stuart C1, D1, F1, G4, Piccolomini C1, Die Räuber A1, C1, D1, G3, Wallensteins Lager C1, Wallensteins Tod D1, G1, Wilhelm Tell A4, D1, G4. LESSING: Emilie Galotti C1, D1, G1, Minna von Barnhelm C1, D1, G2. SHAKESPEARE: Hamlet D1, G1, Kaufmann von Venedig D1, Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor G1, Othello B1, C1, D1, E4, G1, Richard III D1, Romeo und Julie C1, Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung C1, D2, G1, Ein Wintermärchen C2. ANZENGRUBER: Heimgefundene (Weihnachtsstück) G3, Meineidbauer D1, G1, Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld E1, G2, Das vierte Gebot G1. BJOERNSEN: Ein Fallissement G2. FREYTAG: Graf Waldemar G1, Die Journalisten A2. FULDA: Jugendfreunde G2, Die Sklavin D1, F1, Der Talisman G2, Unter vier Augen D1, Das verlorene Paradies D5, G3, Die wilde Jagd D1, F1, G2. GEIBEL: Meister Andrea G1. GUTZKOW: Das Urbild der Tartüffe G2, Uriel Acosta C1, D1, G2, Zopf und Schwerdt D1. GRILLPARZER: Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen D1. HAUPTMANN: Der Biberpelz G1, College Crampton D1, Die Weber G1. HEBBEL: Maria Magdalena G1. IBSEN: Gespenster A1, G1, Ein Puppenheim E1, Stützen der Gesellschaft C1, G1. KLEIST: Das Käthchen von Heilbronn C1, G2. LAUBE: Böse Zungen D1, Graf Essex C1, D1, G1, Die Karlsschüler A1, D1, E1, G2. RAIMUND: Der Verschwender C1, E1, G3. SUDERMANN: Die Ehre A3, C2, G5, Es lebe das Leben G2, Das Glück im Winkel G2, Die Heimat C2, D2, G4, Johannisfeuer G4, Die Schmetterlingsschlacht D1, G1, Sodoms Ende D2, F1, G1, Stein und Steinen G1. WILBRANDT: Die Tochter des Herrn Fabricius D2, F1. WILDE: Salome G1. WILDENBRUCH: Die Haubenlerche C1, G2, Der Menonit D1, Die Quitzows C1, Die Rabensteinerin G1, Vater und Sohn, oder Aus Deutschlands schwerer Zeit (Vaterländisches Schauspiel) G1.

V. 1911-1914.

THE PRESENT DIRECTORSHIP. THE VICTORIA THEATER.

TABLE A V.*

Trauerspiel	3:03—
Schauspiel, Drama	17:17—
Volksstück, Charaktergemälde, etc.	16:16—
Lustspiel	19:19—
Posse, Schwank, etc.	27:26+
Singspiel	1:01—
Operette	19:19
Total	102:

TABLE B V.

GOETHE: Faust 1, Iphigenie 1. SCHILLER: Maria Stuart 1, Wilhelm Tell 1. IBSEN: Der Volksfeind 1. SCHOENHERR: Glaube und Heimat 1. SUDERMANN: Die Heimat 1, Der gute Ruf 1.

*These tables do not include plays given under the auspices of the "Kunsthienen."

THE AMERICAN NOVEL IN GERMANY, 1871-1913.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The period between the years 1871 and 1913 is too recent to enable us to form an absolutely accurate opinion and a final judgment concerning the value of its literature. The novels which were written in these years in America may either win for themselves a prominent place in the hall of literary fame or they may be forgotten by the generations and centuries which are to follow. W. J. Long¹ says: "There was once a wise man named Archimedes, who said that he could move the world if he had a lever long enough and a place to stand on. So the historian might with confidence speak of his own age if he could remove himself to the distant future and view the present event in its historic perspective, that is, in its relation to other events, past and to come." However, uncertain though our judgment may be of the immediate present and past, we are at least able to determine the extension of interest which our literature has attained, even if only for the time being, in foreign lands, and it is the immediate purpose of this investigation to indicate the degree which that interest has attained in Germany and German Austria.

The year 1871 has been roughly chosen as a starting point for various reasons. In the first place, it was this year which gave birth to the new German Empire and marked the beginning of an era in which Germany has played so prominent a rôle in "Weltpolitik," as well as in the arts, the sciences and commercial affairs.

For the United States there was also a literary rejuvenation at about this time. In his General Survey of American Litera-

¹ *American Literature*, New York, 1913, p. 147.

ture since the Civil War, H. S. Pancoast declares that ² "it has not been remarkable for the depth or eloquence of its weightier prose, or for the brilliancy and insight of literary criticism, but in its fiction it has made a distinct and notable contribution to literature." It has been the custom to trace this new movement in American Literature as dating from the end of the Civil War, but the chief school of fiction, the realistic school, led by Howells and James, did not really begin until after 1870. The prose novel assumes a "tyrannous central position,"³ because of its direct appeal to all classes of people. Especially is this noticeable after 1876, since which date "nearly two hundred good writers and perhaps a thousand good volumes have appeared" on the American fiction market. Twenty years later, in 1896, we read:⁴ "The magnitude of the flood of novels and tales that now surges through newspaper and magazine, and in bound form sweeps other literary products from the bookstands, almost exceeds belief." Stedman says:⁵ "The elder poets fully met the need for idyllic verse, relating to home, patriotism, religion, and the work-day life of an orderly people. They did not scrutinize and vividly present the coils of individual feeling. Our people have outgrown their juvenescence, tested their manhood and now demand a lustier regimen. They crave the sensations of mature and cosmopolitan experience, and are bent upon what we are told is the proper study of mankind. The rise of our novelists was the answer to this craving. They depict life as it is, though rarely, as yet, in its intenser phases." When Edward Fawcett complained, shortly after the Civil War, that "just now it is surely the twilight of our American novelists," he was stating the truth, for this new revival of the realistic novel had not yet noticeably developed. By the end of Grant's second term, 1877, the ⁶ "complete restoration of the Union, the spread of new states from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the significant

² *An Introduction to American Literature*, New York, 1898, p. 309.

³ Richard Burton: *Literary Leaders of America*, New York, 1904, p. 313.

⁴ Pattee: *A History of American Literature*, Boston, 1896, p. 422.

⁵ *Poets of America*, Boston, 1886.

⁶ N. J. Long: *American Literature*, New York, 1913, p. 270.

Centennial Exposition of 1876" had taken place. These marked the opening of the new era of this republic and with it the beginning of the great development of the American novel.

As if to make the new epoch in the American novel an entirely and not only a partly new one, we find that almost all the great novelists of the earlier days died before the rejuvenation of our fiction set in. Among these are Simms (1870), J. P. Kennedy (1870), Sealsfield (1864), Hawthorne (1864), Miss Sedgwick (1867), Cooper (1851), James Kirke Paulding (1860), Washington Irving (1859), Poe (1849). In England, the death of Dickens (d. 1870) and Bulwer-Lytton (d. 1873), also marked the end of the old and the beginning of the new epoch.⁷

Let us make a rapid preliminary survey of the extent and growth of Germany's interest in and knowledge of American literature. In an early work, Ludwig Wachler's *Lehrbuch der Literaturgeschichte*,⁸ we find references to American literature only on one page.⁹ In speaking of Walter Scott's supreme position as English novelist, he says: "er hat in Washington Irving einen würdigen Nebenbuhler gefunden; manche neuere Erscheinungen (v. Allan Cunningham, d. etwas dürftig-breite N. Am. James Fenimore Cooper u. a.) sind vielversprechend." It was some time after this that Cooper became really known to the German reading public, but once aroused, their interest in his works shows no signs of weakening, even at the present day.¹⁰ Brander Matthews correctly said of Cooper: "The first American author to carry our flag outside the limits of our language." Miss Maclean has pointed out¹¹ the immense popularity in Germany of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, after its publication in America in 1852. It

⁷ Cf. also Alphonso Smith: *Die Amerikanische Literatur* (Vol. II of the *Bibliothek der amerikanischen Kulturgeschichte*, Berlin, 1912), pp. 22, 29, 33, 34, 217 and 367, for an excellent description of the new awakening in American literature after 1870. Cf. also F. L. Pattee: *American Literature Since 1870*, New York, 1915.

⁸ 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1830.

⁹ P. 381.

¹⁰ As recently as 1909, Karl Federn published his translation of Cooper in Germany.

¹¹ *Americana Germanica*, Vol. X, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in Germany.

has gone through no less than seventy-five separate editions in Germany since that time. Johannes Scherr's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur* gives us another means of judging the attitude of German literary critics and historians toward our literature. In the first edition of this work (1851), Cooper is given a half-page description, but is chiefly branded as an imitator of Scott.¹² He then blandly adds: "Brown, Neal, Paulding, Hoffman, Bird, Simms, Anna Sedgwick u. andere waren tätig im Roman." Washington Irving is honored with fourteen lines and described as an imitator of Dickens. In the third edition of 1869, although "neu verarbeitet und stark vermehrt," the only addition among American authors is a short footnote on Poe (d. 1849). In the fourth and fifth editions¹³ of this same work the additions consist of one line concerning Hawthorne and the following list: "B. Taylor, R. H. Stoddart, J. R. Lowell, G. H. Baker, Th. B. Aldrich, J. A. Dorgan, J. J. Pratt and Walt Whitman, in welchen letztgenannten die eine Hälfte seiner Landsleute einen grossen Dichter, die andere einen grossen Narren sieht." Although written in 1875, there is no mention of Bret Harte or Mark Twain. In the sixth edition of 1880, we find the statements of the previous editions unchanged, Hawthorne is brushed aside with "der phantastisch-humoristische Novellist N. Hawthorne lehnt sich an Poe," and this important addition:¹⁴ "In den Erzählungen und Schildereien von Th. B. Aldrich und M. Twain tritt die humoristische Auffassungs- und Betrachtungsweise von Welt und Menschen ebenfalls in den Vordergrund, wogegen der Novellist W. D. Howells mehr die pathetische Seite der Erscheinungen des Lebens hervorkehrt." Whitman receives an unfavorable footnote as his portion.

From this cursory treatment it would appear as if American literature had not aroused sufficient interest in Germany to

¹² This indicates a decided lack of appreciation of our literature which among some German critics has persisted to this day. At the time of Cooper's death (1851) he had already been translated and published countless times in Germany, but the notion among certain Europeans that whatever is American cannot be of permanent value was strikingly illustrated in his case.

¹³ 1872, 1875.

¹⁴ P. 119.

call forth histories of its literature written in German and by Germans. However, as early as 1868, Brunnemann published his *Geschichte der Nordamerikanischen Literatur*. In 1883, Eduard Engel issued his *Geschichte der amerikanischen Literatur*. He published this as an appendix to his *Geschichte der englischen Literatur* in the later editions. The second edition appeared in separate binding in 1897, but in it he doubts "ob eine Litteratur, die überhaupt erst seit wenigen Jahrzehnten anfängt unabhängig von der englischen sich zu entwickeln, schon für eine geschichtliche Darstellung genügendes Material liefert, muss bezweifelt werden." Two works had appeared before Engel's: Ernst Otto Hopp's *Unter dem Sternenbanner (Streifzüge in das Leben und die Literatur der Amerikaner)*, (Bromberg, 1877), and Rudolf Doehn's *Aus dem amerikanischen Dichterwald* (Leipzig, 1881). In 1891 there appeared the most pretentious work of all, Karl Knortz' *Geschichte der nordamerikanischen Literatur* (2 vols., Berlin, Lustenöder). This was followed in 1898 by E. P. Evans' *Beiträge zur amerikanischen Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte*. Finally, in 1912, Kellner's *Geschichte der nordamerikanischen Literatur* (2 vols.), was published in the Götschen series.¹⁵

During all this time the Germans were in fact taking a genuine interest in our literature. One critic writes in 1876: "Die Amerikaner haben auf einem ganz eigenen Boden, in ganz eigener Luft, und in einem ganz eignen Geiste geschichtlicher Entwicklung ein ganz eignes Leben und somit auch eine ganz eigne Literatur. Obgleich sie noch immer wesentlich mit Leben und Literatur Englands und Deutschlands zusammen hängen und englisch wie deutsche Geisteswerke immer frisch bei sich einbürgern, haben sie doch längst auch auf eigne Weise denken und dichten gelernt."¹⁶ In the same year another reviewer calls his readers' attention to Duyckinck's *Cyclopedia of American Literature from the earliest time to the year 1873*: "Sie ist an und für sich eine ganze, für die gewählten Familienkreise passende Biblio-

¹⁵ These works and others are discussed in more detail in Chap. II(d) of this study.

¹⁶ *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*, April 15, 1876, p. 228.

thek amerikanischer Belletristik."¹⁷ Moreover, even after the new era of the American novel had begun between 1870 and 1875, interest did not wane in many of the old favorites. Cooper remained the most popular American author for many years. Harriet Beecher Stowe's latest works were read with avidity, and the critics speak highly of her "ausgesprochen nüchterne Prosa."¹⁸ But lest his readers forget, we find the reviewer of Richardson's *Primer of American Literature*,¹⁹ reminding them that "Namen wie die von Washington Irving, Longfellow, Bret Harte, Bayard Taylor, erinnern uns, dass es auch jenseits des Oceans eine Literatur giebt, die es verdient, dass wir Deutsche uns eingehend und voll Interesse mit ihrer Entwicklung und Geschichte beschäftigen."²⁰

In spite of this and the literary histories mentioned above, American literature has not yet been fully recognized in Germany as distinct from the English. It is gratifying to note that Wülker's *Geschichte der englischen Literatur*, usually considered the best German work on this subject, does not mention our literature. Körting's *Grundriss der englischen Literatur*,²¹ however, still considers our literature more or less British and gives short notes on American authors and refers the reader to the Tauchnitz Catalogues for further information. The Tauchnitz edition is still generally called the *Collection of British Authors*,²² although sixty-eight of its four hundred and ninety authors are American²³ (works by Cooper and Irving being among the first volumes published 1841-1847), and among them are the very best sellers. Germans themselves realize this failure to properly recognize American literature, as e. g. when Dr. H. Schmidt²⁴ speaks of "die mangelhafte Berücksichtigung, die die englische Literatur Amerikas noch immer selbst in den neuesten Werken über eng-

¹⁷ *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, Sept. 30, 1876, p. 577.

¹⁸ *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, Sept. 9, 1876, p. 530.

¹⁹ Boston, 1879.

²⁰ *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, June 21, 1879, p. 394.

²¹ 2nd ed.

²² Cf. any volume of Kayser's *Bücher-Lexikon*.

²³ Up to June, 1914.

²⁴ *Die Neueren Sprachen*, Vol. 3, p. 611 (1896).

lische Literatur findet."²⁵ E. P. Evans, born in America, but a German citizen since 1870, has heroically defended our literature and accuses the British of attempts to prove that Irving and Cooper were British-born, "aber die reichhaltige und eigenartige Entwicklung der amerikanischen Literatur und das unverkennbare Nationalgepräge, welches sie führt, lässt derlei Verwechslungen, selbst mit dem bösesten Willen, kaum mehr vorkommen. —Nur Herr Baron v. Tauchnitz scheint immer noch bei dem alten Glauben zu bleiben, dass es keine amerikanische Literatur gebe, sonst wäre es ja unerfindlich, wie er die bekannte Schriftsteller Hawthorne, Henry James, Aldrich, Howells, Harte, Longfellow und noch viele andere unter 'British authors' subsumieren und als solche verlegen kann."²⁶ H. H. Ewers has recently written a *Führer durch die moderne Literatur*,²⁷ in which three hundred authors from all countries are presented as "die geistige Elite der Kultur unserer Zeit in literarischer Beziehung." The only Americans who are considered as deserving mention are Poe, Mark Twain, and Walt Whitman, the author deploring the fact that "der Amerikaner Walt Whitman, Leute wie Schlaf und andere eine Zeitlang in seinen Bann zog." Similar treatment is accorded American literary men in Carl Schmidt's *Der moderne Roman*,²⁸ in which Upton Sinclair is the only American discussed in a long list of German, French, Russian, English and Italian novelists. On the other hand, Keiter und Kellen's *Der Roman*²⁹ finds space for seventeen American novelists, including all the important ones since 1870 with a few exceptions.

In spite of this apparent ignoring of American men of letters and the seeming lack of appreciation by literary historians in Germany of our right to a place in the literary sun, conditions are not such as we might judge them off-hand to be. We certainly

²⁵ Even in this statement, much as the writer would like to see American Literature receive a more prominent recognition in Germany, he can only think of achieving this greater prominence by incorporating a more extensive account of our literature in the Histories of English Literature.

²⁶ *Beiträge*, etc., p. 109, Cotta, 1898.

²⁷ Berlin, 1906.

²⁸ Osnabrück, 1908.

²⁹ Essen-Ruhr, 1908.

cannot agree with Miss Colbron,³⁰ that "until a few years ago American literature in its modern form, began and ended with Bret Harte and Mark Twain as far as they (*i. e.*, the Germans) were concerned." Nor can we adopt the standpoint of Charles A. L. Reed, who has discovered that there are many people in Germany who speak English. He says:³¹ "The American, however, who felicitates himself that, even in the cities (of Germany) mentioned, the interest in the English language engenders interest in the literature of America is doomed to disappointment: for whatever interest is thus aroused centers in the literature of England; to which country rather than to America, all literature in the English language is most frequently attributed."

That not only Bret Harte and Mark Twain, but a large number of other American novelists are eagerly read and their latest works diligently sought after, and that these are recognized by most of their readers as American and not British, will be developed in the course of this study.

CHAPTER II.

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY.

(a) *Certain Limitations.*

In making a chronological study of the American novel in Germany after 1870, certain limitations must be borne in mind. It would be useless to make the treatment absolutely exhaustive, for the reason that there are almost countless American authors who appear only in our nickel- and dime-novel form, but are nevertheless translated and made commercially valuable by enterprising German publishers. This ephemeral "Revolver-fiction," as the Germans call it, redounds neither to our credit nor does it add to the culture of Germany, nor does it enhance our literary

³⁰ *The Bookman*, March, 1914, p. 45 ff.

³¹ *Review of Reviews*, Vol. 29, p. 459 (1904).

reputation among certain indiscriminating German critics who look upon these works as typical American literature. Such names therefore as Old Sleuth, Frank Pinkerton, Lawrence Lynch, Bertha M. Clay and an endless list of their confreres, though translated and eagerly bought and devoured by the *Gassenpöbel*, cannot form part of our investigation. Where such authors, however, such as Anne Katherine Greene, have had an astounding success and have appeared in more expensive editions, they will come within the scope of this study.

Further, let it be borne in mind that this treatment aims to give the extent to which American novelists have been translated and published in Germany, only however in so far as they really represent the *new* American novel, which began to develop around 1870. Many of the older authors continued to be published in Germany after this date, notably Cooper, Sealsfield, Walt Whitman, Artemus Ward, Hawthorne, Poe,³² etc. These men had either died before the new American novel came into being, or, with a large number of minor novelists, continued to represent the old school of novelists which had done its chief work before the rise of Harte, Twain, James and Howells. They are therefore not considered as coming within the limitations of this work.

There are certain other authors who carried the American spirit and ideal, or, more properly, their own often distorted interpretation of that spirit, into Germany. Because they were not novelists, they cannot be treated here, in spite of the fact that their works have been so widely spread throughout Germany that they have done much to influence the opinion which Germany has of us. Among these, the most prominent have been

³² Translations:

Emerson—Karl Federn, Halle, 1897.

Poe—Lachmann, Berlin, 1891.

H. & A. Möller-Bruck, Minden, 1901.

Whitman—Knortz u. Rolleston, Zürich, 1889.

K. Federn, Minden, 1904.

Schoelermann, Leipzig, 1904.

Franklin—Friedrich Kapp, Berlin, 1882.

Hawthorne—Kuenstler, Leipzig.

Parkman—Kapp, Stuttgart, 1875.

Andrew Jackson Davis, Ralph Waldo Trine, whose *In Tune with the Infinite* was recently the most widely read American book in Germany, Orison Swett Marden and Sheldon Leavitt. Other more familiar names, such as Theodore Roosevelt, Helen Keller, Andrew Carnegie and William James found a great response to their literary efforts among the higher classes in Germany.

For convenience sake, it has been thought wise to group the publications between 1871 and 1890 in four distinct subdivisions (1871-1876, 1877-1882, 1883-1886, 1887-1890). After 1890 certain important events make it advisable to discuss each year separately up to and including 1913.

(b) *The History.*

In 1871, 1872 and 1873 Germany was still in the process of readjusting herself after her war with France and the establishment of the German Empire. There seems to have been little or no demand for foreign authors so that in the year which saw the conclusion of peace, only one work of the newer American school came into being. It was Charles Dudley Warner's (1829-1900) *My Summer in a Garden*. This was published at Leipzig by Löwe, and created a very good impression. What pleased particularly was the description of Paris in its imperial gala array of 1868, prior to the terrible events which followed—war and revolution. A critic remarks: "Es tat unserem deutschen Herzen wohl, solche Worte zu lesen wie: 'One gets to love Germany and the German as he does no other country and people in Europe. . . .'"³³

The only novel which can be definitely fixed in 1872 is Louisa M. Alcott's *Ein Mädchen aus der guten alten Schule*.³⁴ The work appeared in better binding than Warner's book of 1871 and cost Mk. 7.50. Evidently the edition did not sell as rapidly as expected at this price, for in 1874, when the next edition appeared the price had been reduced to Mk. 6. But, as we shall see, Miss Alcott became very popular in Germany five years later.

³³ *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, Nov. 9, 1872, p. 586.

³⁴ Stuttgart, Nitzschke, 1872.

In the years 1871-1876, Baron Tauchnitz, who had been publishing British and American novels since 1841, began to offer to Germany the first volumes of the new American novel. It is not surprising that Bret Harte and Mark Twain, who were destined to become the most popular of all American writers and strong rivals of Cooper in the esteem of the German people, lead the procession. Of Bret Harte's works, *Idyls of the Foot-hills*, *Prose and Poetry* and *Gabriel Conroy*, the latter being the author's only attempt at a full-length novel, appeared. Of Twain's works only the *Adventures of Tom Sawyer* was published. But other Tauchnitz editions of this period marked the opening of a great future popularity, e. g., Miss Alcott's *Little Women*. F. L. Benedict's *St. Simon's Niece* and N. Sheppard's *Shut up in Paris* belong to this period, but neither one of these authors ever appeared again in German publishing houses.

The first translation of Bret Harte came out in 1873, being *Kalifornische Novellen*.³⁵ In the following year the firm of Grunow in Leipzig read the public mind with sufficient accuracy and began to issue its series of *Amerikanische Humoristen*. Between 1874-1876, eleven volumes were issued in this series, two by Aldrich, six by Mark Twain (Charles Dudley Warner being co-author of *Das vergoldete Zeitalter*), two by Artemus Ward and one by Max Adeler. Adeler received praise from a critic because he amuses his readers "ohne Verletzung der die englische Sprache in ihrer Construction und Orthographie regelnden Gesetze,"³⁶ a thing which Artemus Ward and other humorists were constantly guilty of. In 1874 the first novel of Elizabeth Prentiss to appear in Germany, *Fritz und Marie und Ich*, was published by Nusser at Itzehoe. The edition was very cheap (75 Pf.), but the next year, 1875, *Die Perle der Familie* appeared in Basel and gave her a more general reputation than the first work. Harte's *Argonauten Geschichten* appeared this year with Grunow.

In 1876, Miss Prentiss seems to have become known, for

³⁵ Leipzig, Quandt und Händel, 1873.

³⁶ *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, Sept. 8, 1877, p. 548.

Schneider in Basel published another of her books, *Die Familie Percy*. In this year Grunow followed up his *Amerikanische Humoristen* series of 1874-1876, with a new series of *Amerikanische Novellisten*. Here Henry James, Jr., greets the German public for the first time with his *Ein leidenschaftlicher Erdenpilger* and *Roderick Hudson*. These two novels and Harte's *Gabriel Conroy* complete the series. But it did not complete the translation and publication of *Gabriel Conroy*. Reclam issued a translation, as did also Hallberger in Stuttgart, Janke in Berlin, and Hartleben in Vienna. Not to be outdone by his fellow-publishers, Auerbach in Stuttgart started a *Transatlantische Romanbibliothek*, in which *Gabriel Conroy* also appeared. Thus we are presented with the strange phenomenon of a novel, which both American and European literary criticism had assailed unfavorably, appearing seven times in one year in a foreign land, once in Tauchnitz and six times in German translation. The German public was beginning to awaken to the charms of Bret Harte's Far West with its gold mines and its motley adventurous throng and were demanding his latest works as fast as they appeared in America. Auerbach's *Transatlantische Bibliothek* also introduced a new American novelist to German readers in the publication of Howell's *Voreilige Schlüsse*. This year had been a banner year for Bret Harte, ten volumes of his work appearing in various parts of Germany.

The year 1877 was chiefly remarkable for the interest in Louise M. Alcott. Grunow put editions of *Kleine Frauen* und *Kleine Männer* on the market, while Valett and Company (Bremen) issued a cheap edition of *Kleine Frauen*. This was only one of many cases in which Tauchnitz published some popular American novel in English, only to have it followed by numerous German translations in the next year or following years. It cannot be denied that this Leipzig firm did a great and important work in demonstrating to publishers and translators that the new American novel would find as enthusiastic an audience in Germany, both in its original form and in translation as Cooper, Sealsfield, Poe and other earlier masters had found. Grunow continued his activity this year

with two new volumes in the *Amerikanische Humoristen* series, one each by Mark Twain and T. B. Aldrich as well as adding James' *Der Amerikaner* to his *Amerikanische Novellisten*.

Between 1877-1882, Tauchnitz' publication of American novels took a decided step forwards. Two volumes by Aldrich, one by Miss Alcott, the anonymous novel *Democracy*, one volume by Habberton, *Helen's Babies*, eight volumes by Harte, two by Blanche Willis Howard, three by Howells, nine by James, one by Miss Prentiss and six by Mark Twain,—thirty-four in all, were published by this firm.

The *Transatlantische Romanbibliothek*, now in the hands of Abenheim, Berlin, added James' *Die Amerikaner*, Eggleston's *Schulmeister von Flat-Creek* ("ein liebliches Idyll" a reviewer calls it) and Adler's *Münchhausen in America* in 1877. Abenheim also published two volumes of Bret Harte in inexpensive editions. Miss Prentiss' *Stepping Heavenward*, which Tauchnitz had already published, appeared this same year in German translation³⁷ and reached its third edition.

Bret Harte was again the centre of interest in 1878, Abenheim publishing five volumes at one mark per volume. Howell's *Dean: Bühnenspiel ohne Coulissen* also appeared with Abenheim. Reclam added H. James' *Eugen Pickering* and Janke (Berlin) his *Der Amerikaner*.

Although Reclam issued two volumes of Mark Twain and Abenheim four more volumes of Bret Harte in 1879, the most significant publication was Habberton's *Tante Jettchen* (Abenheim), for this was the first appearance of Habberton, who was destined to become a household name among the Germans, in German translation.

Two newcomers make their appearance in 1880, Boyesen and Julian Hawthorne. Boyesen's *Gunnar*³⁸ made a very good impression and was widely read. Its romantic, poetic legends and superstitions gave the story "etwas naiv-mystisches, das an das Volksmärchen erinnert."³⁹

³⁷ Basel, Schneider, 1877.

³⁸ Breslau, Schottländer, 1880.

³⁹ *Vossische Zeitung*, Sontt. Beil. June 20, 1880.

Barthol and Company in Berlin began their *Englische Romanbibliothek* in 1881, and the first two volumes published were George W. Cable's *Grandissimes*. Miss Prentiss' *Himmelan* reached its fourth edition and a new *English Library*⁴⁰ published a volume of Mark Twain's *Sketches*.

This *English Library* was not without its rivals, for in 1882 Barthol's *Englische Romanbibliothek*, which had been inaugurated the year before, published two volumes of Francis Hodgson Burnett and one of Albion W. Tourgee. Nevertheless Rudolphi & Klemm kept pace by publishing *Margorie Daw* by Aldrich and Harte's *Tales of the Argonauts*. In Hamburg there arose another rival to these two firms who were giving Germany the best that the authors of Great Britain and America had to offer. This was Asher's *Continental Library*, published by Gradener and Richter. In this year (1882) they put forth two volumes by Miss Burnett, *A Fair Barbarian* and *That Lass o' Lowrie's*, Edgar Fawcett's *A Gentleman of Leisure*, Habberton's *Some Folks* and *Other Folks*, and, in a more expensive binding and under the general title of Asher's *Collection of English Authors, British and American*, another edition of *Some Folks*. Reclam continued its competition with the more expensive publications with Aldrich's *Prudence Palfrey und andere Erzählungen*, Habberton's *Allerhand Leute*, and nine volumes by Bret Harte. Between 1877-1882 began the publication of Anne Katherine Greene's works in Behrend's *Eisenbahn Unterhaltungen* with *Schein und Schuld*, which created a taste for this authoress that kept the publishers of criminal and detective novels very busy for many years to come.

Tauchnitz' publication of the anonymous *Democracy* bore its fruit, for in 1883 no less than four editions of the German translation appeared. A new firm entered the race to gain some of the profit which Bret Harte's works were pouring into publishers' treasuries, namely Breitkopf and Härtel (Leipzig), who published in 1883 a neat volume of Harte's *Neueste Novellen*.

In 1884 and 1885, *Demokratisch* reached its fifth edition.

⁴⁰ Rudolphi & Klemm, Zürich, 1881.

Miss Prentiss had not been forgotten, for *Was Lizzie Erzählte und Gentleman Jim* were issued in one volume by Böhme (Leipzig). Elizabeth Stuart Phelps' *Im Jenseits* reached a second edition in 1885, and Burnett's *Die schöne Barbarin* was added to Barthol's *Englische Romanbibliothek*.

Tauchnitz and the other publishers of various series and Bibliotheken were again unusually prolific between 1882-1886. In these years, Tauchnitz issued one volume by Miss Alcott, one by Miss Burnett, seven by F. Marion Crawford, who entered the German book market at this time, two by J. C. Fletcher (Geo. Fleming), two by Habberton, one by L. B. Halstead (B. Elbon), four by Bret Harte, one by Blanche W. Howard, nine by Howells, one by Helen Hunt Jackson, five by Henry James, Jr., and three by Mark Twain. Reclam between 1883-1886 issued Aldrich's *Die Tragödie von Stillwater* and was the first German publisher to present in translation the famous story by Habberton, *Helene's Kinderchen*. Two developments in this period meant much for the future of the American novel in Germany. Engelhorn in Stuttgart began in 1884 to publish his *Allgemeine Romanbibliothek. Eine Auswahl der bestern modernen Romane aller Völker*. The editions were inexpensively bound in 50 Pf. and 75 Pf. volumes, and thus all classes had access to them. A volume of Boyesen's short stories was the first American contribution and was followed in 1885-1886 by two volumes of Harte. The other important publication of 1886 was the beginning of the *Sternenbanner-Serie*,⁴¹ a series devoted to American humorists. Stockton's *Ruderheim* and Twain's *Unterwegs und Daheim* were its first numbers. The cost per volume, Mk. 2.50, guaranteed a strongly though plainly bound volume that would stand the wear and tear of time. Asher's *Continental Library* added Mrs. Burnett's *Louisiana*, while Harte's *In the Carquinez Woods* and Julian Hawthorne's *Dust* were the new volumes in Asher's collection in 1886. Rose Terry Cooke, unknown to the large mass of the German people, was introduced to a small religious circle through her *Ein Laien-Prediger*, published as a religious tractate

⁴¹ Stuttgart, Lutz, 1886.

for 20 Pf. Twenty-six years later (1912) it was republished by Ott in Gotha, but one would have great difficulty in finding a German today who had ever heard of its author.

The period between 1882-1886 had witnessed a great acceleration in the history of the American novel in Germany. Many publishers had taken an interest in American literature, who previously had probably scorned the literary efforts of the "Jenseits." There was a general awakening of interest among all classes, since everyone could afford to buy the cheap Reclam and Engelhorn editions, while Asher's and Tauchnitz's volumes supplied those whose education had given them a reading knowledge of English. The Germans realized that the way to learn a language was to read copiously in that language, and to read something that interests as well as instructs. This trend of thought led naturally to the reading of the best that English and American literature offer, and was thus responsible largely for the keen interest in our novel. American humor became better known through the *Sternbanner-Serie* and increased this interest.

Short stories by Aldrich, Stockton, Bishop, Deming, Matthews and O'Brien were added to the *Sternenbanner-Serie* in 1887, while Boyesen and Burnett appeared in Engelhorn. *Der kleine Lord*, by Burnett, was the first German translation of *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, which became as popular as *Helen's Babies* and *Tom Sawyer*. A new translation of Twain's *Prince and Pauper* was published by the Verlag der "deutschen Heimat" in Konstanz as *Fürst und Bettler*. Miss Prentiss' *Himmelan* appeared in a new edition and, though never known in Germany as a novelist, S. Weir Mitchell became known to German medical students through *Behandlung gewisser Formen von Neurasthenie und Hysterie*. But most significant of all was the publication of a two-volume edition of Wallace's *Ben Hur*, the first appearance of this famous novel in Germany. The Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt issued four editions of *Ben Hur* in this year, while O. Hendel (Halle) in his *Bibliothek der Gesamtliteratur des In- und Auslandes* printed both the usual 25 Pf. edition and a *Prachtband* edition.

In 1888, Tauchnitz published *Ben Hur* and the *Sternban-*

ner Serie added Twain's *Leben auf dem Mississippi*. In the next year "die Perle der Sammlung," as one critic expresses it, was added to the *Sternbanner-Serie*, namely, Blanche W. Howard's *Guenn*. This reviewer finds in it "eine äusserst seltene Gestaltungskraft und dazu eine echte Poesie der Stimmung."⁴² It is interesting to note that Paul Heyse wrote a warm letter of praise for this novel and its author. *Ben Hur* reached its fifth edition in 1889. The socialistic organ *Vorwärts* brought another name before the German people which soon became universally known, by the publication in its *Berliner Arbeiter Bibliothek* of a fifteen Pf. edition of *Ein sozialistischer Roman (Looking Backward)*, by Edward Bellamy.

Tauchnitz presented a number of new authors between 1887-1890. Besides a volume of Miss Alcott, Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, Mrs. Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* and *Sara Crewe*, seven novels by Crawford, eight volumes by Bret Harte, two by Blanche W. Howard and two by Mark Twain, we also find Margaret Deland's *John Ward Preacher* and A. C. Gunter's *Mr. Barnes of New York*. The former pleased because of the comparison between the quaint old-fashioned life of Ashurst and the busy religious atmosphere of Lockhaven.⁴³ Reclam published Bellamy's *Rückblick* and *Dr. Heydenhoff's Wunderkur*, Mrs. Burnett's *Der kleine Lord Fauntleroy* and several others between 1887-1890. The *Sternbanner* added volumes by Cable, Twain and Anne Katherine Green in 1890. Altogether Bellamy's works were published by five firms in 1890, and the edition of *Rückblick*, which O. Wigand (Leipzig) put forth went through six editions in this one year. *A Zehnpfennig Bibliothek* in Berlin published volumes of Boyesen, Octave Thanet (Alice French) and a short story by Mark Twain. Engelhorn's *Romanbibliothek* presented Gunter's *Mr. Potter aus Texas*, while the firm of Lüsteneröder (Berlin) published volumes by Miss Alcott, Habberton, Harte and Stockton. Amelie Rives made her first appearance in *Der Lebende oder der Tote*, while Reclam issued the only work of E. P. Roe, *Wie sich Jemand in seine Frau verliebt*, that ever

⁴² *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, March 30, 1889, p. 213.

⁴³ *Herrig's Archiv*, Vol. 84 (1890), p. 189.

appeared in Germany. Frank Hopkinson Smith, who had not yet been introduced into Germany as a novelist, is represented in 1890 through his book of travel *Pleinair-Studien aus Spanien, Holland und Italien*.

From 1891 on we do not meet with the same difficulty in determining the exact year in which the Reclam and Tauchnitz volumes are issued, for the year is in most cases appended to each volume even when long lists occur in the catalogues. For three years (1891-1893) there is a steady stream of publication of American novelists, but in 1894 a decided falling off occurs, as will be seen from the figures below.

Bellamy was again the central figure in 1891. His *Rückblick* was published in Meyer's *Volksbücher*, which sold at the ridiculously small price of 10 Pf. Reclam reprinted his *Dr. Heydenhof's Wunderkur*, which they had issued the year before, and added *Miss Ludington's Schwester*. O. Hendel (Halle) offered *Maud Elliot* in his *Gesamtliteratur, etc.*, series and Fischer (Berlin) issued a second cheaper edition of *Fräulein Ludington's Schwester*. Tauchnitz published volumes by Burnett, Crawford, Richard Harding Davis, Julien Gordon, Bret Harte and Richard Henry Savage. Davis and especially Savage, the former through his *Gallegher*, the latter through *My Official Wife*, became well known and cherished by German readers in the following years. A new movement to place before the people the best English and American works in the original and at exactly the same rate at which the Tauchnitz volumes sold, Mk. 1.60, was begun in this year in the formation of another *English Library*, by Heinemann and Balestier (Leipzig). Nine volumes by American authors appeared in this first year, the most interesting fact being that the authors chosen were scarcely known up to this time. Mrs. Burton Harrison with *Anglomaniacs* and Mary E. Wilkins with *A Far-away Melody* and *A Humble Romance* had never appeared in Germany before, while Margaret Deland, Amelie Rives and Charles Dudley Warner were practically unknown, whereas Howells and James, the real leaders of the new realistic novel in America, were known to the German public which did not read English, only through the translation of one

volume each. However since this *English Library* presented the novels in the original, it may be assumed that Tauchnitz editions of Howells and James had already revealed the great novellistic ability of these leaders to the cultured German public. Bret Harte continued his unrivalled popularity with editions by Hendel and in Meyer's *Volksbücher*. *Ben Hur* reached its sixth edition, while Heichers and Skopnik (Berlin) published two additional works by Wallace: *Die hehre Gottheit* und *Jesu Kindschaft*. *Helenen's Kinderchen* appeared in Engelhorn's *Romanbibliothek*, as did also two volumes by Julien Gordon. Lutz (Stuttgart) began to issue his *Sammlung ausgewählter Kriminal und Detektiv Romane*, with volumes by Anne Katherine Green and Julian Hawthorne.

There are five new names in 1892, Wolcott Balestier, Ambrose Bierce, Lloyd Osbourne, Kate Douglas Wiggin and Constance F. Woolson. Heinemann and Balestier's *English Library* is responsible for introducing three of these, Balestier, Osbourne and Woolson. Two volumes of Balestier appeared, *The Average Woman* and *Naulahka*, written in conjunction with Rudyard Kipling. Bierce's *In the Midst of Life*, a new Tauchnitz volume, brought forth much unfavorable criticism: "Ich erinnere mich nicht, jemals ein Werk der sogenannten schönen Literatur mit demselben Ekel gelesen zu haben, wie *In the Midst of Life*, von dem ich nicht begreife, wie es in die Tauchnitz collection Aufnahme finden konnte."⁴⁴ No work of Bierce's was ever published in Germany again, a conclusive proof that he created an unsavory impression. The translation of K. D. Wiggin's *Christmas Carol* appeared as *Die Geschichte von Vogel's Weihnachts-Röschen*.⁴⁵ Miss Wiggins was also to have a bright future among her German admirers, as the following years will show. Reimer (Berlin) issued German translations of four novels of Marion Crawford, at exactly the same price as the Tauchnitz volumes, Mk. 1.60, in order to compete on even terms. Edward Eggleston, two of whose works had already appeared in Ger-

⁴⁴ *Herrig's Archiv*, Vol. 88 (1892), p. 444.

⁴⁵ Leipzig, P. Hobbing, 1892.

many, made his last appearance in *The Faith Doctor* (Tauchnitz). This work received great praise as a social satire.⁴⁶ Engelhorn, Lutz and O. Hendel continued their publications of American authors, while Heinemann and Balestier added new works by James and Lloyd Osbourne besides introducing the three new authors mentioned above.

There were no new authors in 1893. This year proved another great year for Crawford, six of whose novels were issued, and Bret Harte, nine of whose works made their appearance. Lutz, whose Detective Series had flourished the year before, only issued one work of this type, A. K. Green's *Endlich gefunden*. Tauchnitz put ten new American novels on the market, the most significant being two by Miss Wiggin, whose popularity had suddenly flared into being the year before. The Deutsche Verlagsanstalt of Stuttgart became unusually active with volumes by Bellamy, Bret Harte (three) and Stockton (two). Margaret Deland's most famous novel appeared as *Johannes Ward, die Geschichte eines Geistlichen*, but she is not heard of again in Germany for the next seventeen years.

The next year (1894) witnessed a decrease of almost fifty per cent. in the publication of American novels. Not a single work of Howells or James, only one of Mark Twain and two of Crawford, to mention the prominent novelists, appeared. Miss Burnett's *Theo, eine Liebesgeschichte*, appeared in two translations, one in Berlin, the other in Frankfurt a/O. Reclam and Engelhorn each published only one American novel, while Tauchnitz' contribution of six novels was not up to his usual standard of ten or more. Miss Prentiss' *Himmelan* continued popular and reached its sixth edition.

The year 1895 proved to be more disastrous than 1894. Miss Burnett occupies the centre of interest. No less than seven novels by this authoress came from the press, one of them, *Klein Küchen*, reaching its fifth edition in one year. Mrs. Craigie (J. O. Hobbes) makes her first appearance with *The Gods, Some Mortals and Lord Wickenham* (Tauchnitz).

⁴⁶ *Mitteilungen aus dem gesamten Gebiete der englischen Sprache und Literatur. Beiblatt zu "Anglia,"* Vol. 3 (July, 1892), p. 93.

Though not frequently translated or even published in the original, this authoress created much discussion and critical comment in German literary circles. Thomas Wentworth Higginson's work on women appeared as *Die Frauenfrage und der gesunde Menschenverstand*, but the author, like S. Weir Mitchell and Frank Hopkinson Smith, never became known to Germans as a novelist. Howells, who had not been heard from since 1891, was restored to the public by Engelhorn in *Pflichtgefühl*.

The American novel was almost restored to its normal basis in 1896, even though it must be admitted that it required Lutz' *Kriminal und Detektiv Romane* to swell the low total output which the last two years had shown. Nine novels by A. K. Green appeared in this collection. Miss Burnett with four novels, Bret Harte with three, Savage with four, and Mark Twain with four, kept these prominent authors in the foreground. Interest in Crawford had received a severe check and we do not hear of him again until 1900. Harold Frederic was the newcomer with two volumes in the Tauchnitz edition, but his *Illumination or Damnation of Theron Ware* displeased a certain critic, because, to use his own words, "Was die Verfasserin selbst denkt, bleibt geflissentlich unausgesprochen."⁴⁷ But Frederic was not disliked by the critics, and the whole German nation has felt grateful to him for his interesting study of Emperor William II, which appeared in 1890.

This leads us to another low mark in the history of America's novel in Germany, for in 1897 the total number of publications falls below the low total of 1894. But it is somewhat encouraging to find at least one new novelist. Stephen Crane made his only appearance in Germany with *Maggie, das Strassenkind*. Harte and Savage lead with three novels each, while Mark Twain's *Millionenpfundnote* is published by two firms. It is quite astounding to note that Tauchnitz published only two novels, Harte's *Ancestors of Peter Atherly* and Savage's *A Modern Corsair*. Heinemann and Balestier continue their reputation for

⁴⁷ *Herrig's Archiv*, Vol. 100 (1898), p. 435. It is difficult to determine why the reviewer thinks that Harold Frederic is a woman, unless it be that his portrayal of feminine character is so minute in its details that only a woman could have interpreted it as he does.

publishing the lesser known American authors by issuing Lloyd Osbourne's *Ebb-tide. A Trio and a Quartette*, written in conjunction with Robert Louis Stevenson. Engelhorn added only one American novel to their collection: Savage's *Die Hexe von Harlem*.

For the next five years (1898-1903), Mark Twain is the great bright light that forces all competing authors into total or semi-darkness. 1898 was a great improvement over 1897, an advance of at least fifty per cent. in productivity. In 1898 Lutz published a series of Twain's *Ausgewählte humoristische Schriften*, consisting of six volumes, also a more expensive binding of *Meine Reise um die Welt*, and *Der Querkopf Wilson* in his *Kriminal und Detektiv* series. Lutz also published three volumes of Stockton, which he also called his *Ausgewählte humoristische Schriften*. *Little Lord Fauntleroy* of Miss Burnett received the honor of being taken into Herbig's (Berlin) series of *Modern English Authors*, a series which included only the very best, as such names as Cooper, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Dickens, Tennyson, E. B. Browning, Robert Browning, George Eliot, Scott, Byron and others testify. This was Mary E. Wilkins' best year, with two volumes in Tauchnitz and a volume of translated short stories, published by Perthes (Gotha). Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona*, which had already appeared in Tauchnitz and in 1886 was published in German, now reached the second edition of the German version. Kürschner's *Bücherschatz*, which had begun only the year before to include American authors in its 20 Pf. and 40 Pf. editions, offered a volume of Savage and one of Bret Harte. Most of Lutz' *Kriminal und Detektiv Romane* reached their second edition, especially those of A. K. Green.

Although 1898 had produced no new American novelist, the year 1899, even though it witnessed fewer volumes published, nevertheless brought some new names before the people. The most important newcomer was Gertrude Atherton, whose works were not frequently translated, but who nevertheless became well known to the educated public and the literary critic through the many Tauchnitz volumes which bear her name. Lutz continued to make good use of A. K. Green and Julian Hawthorne

in his detective series, while R. Jacobsthal in Berlin tried to compete with him in a series of *Amerikanische Detektiv Romane*, containing such immortal names as Old Sleuth, Frank Pinkerton, etc., by adding a touch of real literary flavor in the publication of volumes by Twain and Poe. Another new name which called forth much comment in the periodicals, although not a single work of hers was translated into the German, was Elizabeth Robins (C. E. Raimond) whose *The Open Question* appeared this year. Zwissler (Wolfenbüttel) admitted the first American novelist to his *Hausbibliothek*, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps' *Ein eigenartiges Leben im Dienste des Herrn*. Hollis Godfrey appeared for the first time in Germany with his *Rejuvenation of Miss Semaphore* (Tauchnitz).

The year 1900 was another banner year for Mark Twain. No less than ten of his works were published in that year. Aldrich returned after a thirteen years' absence from the German book market in O. Hendel's (Halle) inexpensive edition of *Marjorie Daw und andere Erzählungen* in his *Bibliothek der Gesamtliteratur*, etc. George W. Cable was also heard from after ten years' silence in a volume of the *Bücherei Bruns* (Minden), namely, *Aus der alten Kreolen-Zeit*. Hollis Godfrey was taken into *Fehsenfeld's Romansammlung* (Freiburg i/B), with *Fräulein Eulalia's grässliches Abenteuer*. Three volumes of Crawford appeared in this collection, indicating a demand for translations of the better authors in inexpensive form, the Fehsenfeld volumes selling for 50 Pf. and 75 Pf. Miss Prentiss' *Himmelan* reached its seventh edition, and Blanche W. Howard made her last appearance in Germany with *Toni, die Kammerjungfer*, published in the *Kleine Bibliothek* of Breer und Thiemann. Bret Harte had by no means been forgotten, for *From Sand-hill to Pine* appeared in Tauchnitz and a new edition of *Im Walde von Carquinez*.⁴⁸ Richard H. Davis' *Gallegher* appeared in *Erzählungen aus dem Unterhaltungsblatt für Stenographen*. American novels had on more than one occasion been used for reading and writing exercises by various shorthand systems, but this is the

⁴⁸ Rheinische Union, Stuttgart, 1900.

first appearance of an American novel as pure entertainment designed especially for stenographers.

Mark Twain in 1901 fell one short of his 1900 record, with nine volumes published in Germany by seven different firms. A new edition of *Ben Hur* appeared in Berlin (A. Weichert), Miss Alcott's *Little Women* appeared twice and three volumes of Mrs. Burnett, including of course *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, helped to increase her already great popularity. Cable's *Aus alten Krcolen-Tagen*, issued the year before by Bruns in Minden, seems to have pleased, for a new edition appeared in 1901, better bound and more expensive than the year before. It is interesting to recall the doubt expressed by a certain critic, upon the appearance of *Old Creole Days* in America back in 1888: "Wie lange er aus dieser Quelle (i. e., the life of the old French settlers of New Orleans) schöpfen kann ohne sie zu erschöpfen, und ob er auf einem anderen Felde ebenso erfolgreich sein wird, ist fraglich,"⁴⁹ and then to note how true this prophecy seemed to the Germans when *Bylow Hill* appeared: "*Bylow Hill*, seine erste im Norden spielende Erzählung hat enttäuscht. Wenn auch der Dichter in der Person der Heldin und ihrer Mutter südliche Typen nach Neuengland verpflanzt hat, so scheint er doch dort nicht in seinem Element zu sein."⁵⁰ A very important newcomer of this year is Frank Norris, whose *Octopus* appeared in Tauchnitz. Norris' name became very well known in the next few years.

The wave of publications, which had been at its height in 1891 and 1892, and again between 1896-1901, with low points in 1894, 1895 and 1897, experienced another decided drop in 1902. This proved to be the last low mark, even though the increase in publications up to the banner year of 1912 was not as rapid as the increased output of novels in America seemed to warrant. Four editions of *Ben Hur* appeared in 1902, the Volksausgabe of the Deutsche Verlagsanstalt reaching its eighty-third edition and the more expensive edition by the same firm its eighty-second. In Reutlingen, Enslin and Laiblin issued a Volksaus-

⁴⁹ *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, May 22, 1888, p. 341.

⁵⁰ *Das literarische Echo*, Sept., 1902, p. 1712.

gabe and a better edition. Bret Harte seemed to lose no popularity, as five volumes from him testify. But Miss Atherton, James, Howells, Miss Wiggin and Miss Wilkins are not heard from. Mrs. Burnett is second to Harte with four volumes, two of them being *Little Lord Fauntleroy*. Grunow's edition of Miss Alcott's *Kleine Frauen* reached a third edition. Crawford and Savage each received an addition to their lists.

The number of novels in 1903 was almost double that of the previous year. There are four new names to add to the list: Irving, Bacheller, Thomas Dixon, Jr., Henry Harland and George Horace Lorimer. Bacheller's *Eben Holden* did not excite much interest, for only one other work of his has up to this time been published in Germany. The possibility of Dixon's *Leopard's Spots* retarding or at least injuring the proper development and education of the negro by picturing him "als ein raubsüchtiges, blutdürstiges Gesindel" wherever he appears, caused much unfavorable criticism.⁵¹ Henry Harland, the publication of whose works in the next four years was restricted to Tauchnitz and Engelhorn, became known to Germany through *The Cardinal's Snuff-box*. We find it variously described as "Eine Töchterpensionatgeschichte" and "eine reizende idyllische Liebesgeschichte." Lorimer's *Briefe eines Dollarkönigs an seinen Sohn* was eagerly read and ran up to six editions in this and the following year. Mark Twain, however, was still par excellence the American author, and in 1903 another set of his *Humoristische Schriften* appears with Lutz, including five novels. Besides these, four other volumes, in two cases later editions of works in Lutz' *Kriminal und Detektiv Romane*, appeared. In Velhagen und Klasing's *English Authors*, Miss Alcott's *Good Wives* was published.

Little Lord Fauntleroy and *Ben Hur* had become so well known that they proved the most popular works of 1904. Three English and one German version (*Der kleine Lord*) appeared, and three editions of the latter were issued. K. Thienemann (Stuttgart) issued a splendid new leather edition, with gold edge-

⁵¹ Cf. *Literarisches Centralblatt*, July 4. 1903, p. 202, and *Das literarische Echo*, June, 1902, p. 1283.

ing, for Mk. 10, as well as cheaper editions, down to Mk. 4. Miss Atherton was gaining in favor, as three new Tauchnitz volumes demonstrate. The new names for the year are Jane G. Austin and Henry F. Urban. Miss Austin's volume of short stories appeared with Velhagen und Klasing and marked her only invasion of Germany. Urban, an American who wrote in German, and therefore is scarcely known in America, became very popular because of his supposedly true pictures of American life. The Concordia Verlagshaus (Berlin) published almost all of his works in Germany. Paul Leicester Ford was added to Lutz' *Kriminal Series* with *Das Abenteuer im Expresszug*, which reached a fifth edition in 1911. His better works, such as the historical novel *Janice Meredith* never became known to the Germans. "Als Geschichtsforscher und Bibliograph," says a critic who had read *Janice Meredith*, "hat der Verfasser Vorzügliches geleistet . . . als ein belehrendes Geschichtsbuch ist es zu empfehlen."⁵² A new work of A. K. Green's, *The Filigree Ball*, which with one exception was her only novel seriously considered by any literary critic, did not provoke very favorable comment. The volume is spoken of as "unsinniges Geschwätz," and the authoress "hat ihrer Phantasie die Zügel schiessen lassen."⁵³

Mrs. Burnett with five volumes in 1905, Bret Harte with five, and Mark Twain with four, give the best proof to the statement that the old favorites did not soon lose the affection of the people after they had once made themselves popular. But a real rival to the old guard had developed formidable proportions by 1905 in the publication of four works by Miss Atherton. There were no new authors this year. Howells returned after an absence from the book-market of four years, with *Miss Bellard's Inspiration* (Tauchnitz). Lorimer's *Neue Briefe, u. s. w.*, were published by Fleischel and reached four editions. Habberton's *Helen's Babies* was included for the first time in Velhagen und Klasing's school texts, in the section for *English Authors*. Miss Wigg's *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* became so popular that

⁵² *Literarisches Centralblatt*, May 5, 1900, p. 791.

⁵³ *Literarisches Centralblatt*, April 22, 1905, p. 173.

Engelhorn issued a translation, *Rebekka von Sonnenbachhof* in a four-mark edition instead of his usual 50 Pf. and 75 Pf. volumes.

Three important features characterize the development in 1906. *Ben Hur* had gained such wide-spread popularity that seven editions appeared, two of these being in Graz, Styria. Another feature is the only appearance of Westcott's *David Harum*, which had appeared in America seven years before (1899). In Germany it was looked upon as "typisch amerikanisch," but for that very reason it pleased readers and critics alike who were always anxious to learn more concerning the genuine unadulterated small-town American citizen.⁵⁴ A more important novelty of the year was the publication of Upton Sinclair's *Der Sumpf* (*The Jungle*) in a bound edition and a Volksausgabe, besides an inexpensive edition of the same author's *Der Industriebaron*. Sinclair's *Sumpf* aroused almost as much interest as it did in America and was commented freely upon not only by literary critics, but also by German commercial and governmental interests. Mrs. Edith Wharton, only two of whose works appeared in Germany, but who nevertheless received constant attention by the critics, made her debut in *The House of Mirth*. There is another whom Germany had not known before this year, but who leaped into fame at one bound—Lafcadio Hearn. His *Kokoro* and *Lotos*, four thousand copies of the latter being sold the first year, appeared in German translation with the Literarische Anstalt, Frankfurt a/M. Irving Bacheller made his second and last appearance in *Silas Strong*, a novel which the Germans felt was written for American readers alone: "Andere dürften in dem mageren Inhalte und der absonderlichen Schreibweise wenig Gefallen finden."⁵⁵

Thomas Dixon, Jr.'s *Schwarz und Weiss* appeared in 1907, although it had been announced to appear in 1904. The criticism of the American original, *The Leopard's Spots*, in 1903 had been so severe that the Hesperus Verlag in Berlin hesitated to issue

⁵⁴ *Das literarische Echo*, Dec. 1, 1899.

⁵⁵ *Literarisches Centralblatt*, Dec. 7, 1907, p. 420.

the translation until the tumult had somewhat subsided. Two more versions of Mrs. Burnett's *Der kleine Lord* appeared, as well as her *Die hübsche Schwester von Jose* in Kürschner's Bücherschatz. Hearn had become so well known that Tauchnitz published three of his works, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, *Kokoro*, and *Kwaidan*, while *Izumo* appeared in translation at Frankfurt a/M. The two important newcomers are Jack London and Tom Lawson. The former's *Wenn die Natur ruft* was the only novel of London's to appear in this year, but one of his political studies appeared as *Munizipalsozialismus in England*. Lawson's *Freitag der Dreizehnte* was not taken seriously by German critics, a fate which had already befallen the original in America. While it was being translated into many languages and reached countless masses of people in all Europe as well as in Germany, we find that the prevailing opinion sums it all up with "Mangel an künstlerischem Formensinn in Aufbau der Handlung wie in der dürftigen Sprache."⁵⁶ Another reviewer is a little harsher when he speaks of London's work as "ohne literarischen Wert," and later, "es wirkt wie eine überlegene Parodie auf sich selbst."⁵⁷ The long-expected translation of Norris' *Octopus*, which was published in the Tauchnitz series in 1901, finally appeared in 1907, and almost immediately reached a second edition. *Ben Hur* was again issued by three different publishers, while Mark Twain had another unusually good year with six volumes. Miss Wiggin had become especially known to the younger people through Freytag's "Schulausgaben" of her works, and her *Rebekka von Sonnenbachhof* now became accessible to all in the 50 Pf. Engelhorn edition.

Mark Twain had seen the rise and fall of many minor authors, but continued to remain as popular as ever. In 1908 new editions of four of his works came out. Hearn's *Kyushu*, with three thousand copies sold the first year, kept this author before the people. Owen Wister was translated and introduced to Germany for the first time in *Novellen aus dem Abenteuerle-*

⁵⁶ *Das Literarische Echo*, Sept. 15, 1907, p. 1800.

⁵⁷ *Literarisches Centralblatt*, June 22, 1907, p. 218.

ben des Wilden Westens. Such works as McGrath's *Der Mann auf dem Bock* continued to be translated and published in Engelhorn, Kürschner, Meyer's Volksbücher, etc., but cannot claim our attention here.

Lutz' criminal and detective stories had reached so many editions that he published a more expensive series called *Detektiv Gryce Serie*, in 1909 and 1910. The series consists of six volumes by A. K. Green, all of which had already appeared in cheaper form. They were advertised as being far above the average criminal novel and not to be confused with "anstössige Lektüre" of the Nick Carter type. We find that the *Vossische Zeitung* remarks, concerning one of these six novels, *Hinter verschlossenen Türen*: "Wohltuend rührt es, dass der Verfasser diese Wirkung nicht durch die Spekulation auf den Instinkt für das Sensationelle, sondern vielmehr durch die geschickt ersonnene Handlung, und deren mit psychologischem Verständnis durchgeführte Entwicklung erreicht." Again we read in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, referring to *Schein und Schuld* and *Hand und Ring*: "Was soll man über diese Erzeugnisse sagen? Sie sind jedenfalls nicht von der schlechten Art, wenn sie uns auch den Eindruck machen wie alle Vertreter dieser Gattung, nach einem und demselben Rezept verfertigt zu sein."⁵⁸ This indicates that there was not an absolute aversion to this higher grade detective-literature, especially since the critic adds: "Es soll literarisch sehr anspruchsvolle Menschen geben, die die Versuchung, einen Detektivroman zu Ende zu lesen, nicht widerstehen"—Hearn's *Kwaidan* now appeared in German translation and soon reached its third thousand. A new *Ben Hur* was published by Schreyer (Berlin) in the *Sammlung Kulturhistorischer Romane*, which included such novels as *Quo Vadis*, *Monte Cristo*, *David Copperfield*, *Der ewige Jude*, *Glöckner von Notre Dame*, etc. Clara Louise Burnham made her only appearance in Germany in *Juwel—Ein Kapitel aus ihrem Leben*. Sinclair's *Die Börsenspieler* went through two editions, and Mark Twain added five more publications to his list.

⁵⁸ *Literarisches Centralblatt*, March 26, 1910, p. 136.

The year 1910 finds Hearn leading the list with eight new publication or later editions of old works. F. H. Burnett and Bret Harte have four volumes this year, while Twain has six. Urban's new book, *Die drei Dollarjäger aus Berlin*, met with the same hearty welcome that all his previous works had experienced. Many Germans read all of Urban's works, who had never heard of Howells, James or Miss Atherton. The American dramatist, with whom the American drama, according to certain critics, takes its beginning in 1870, Bronson Howard, is represented in this year of 1910 with his only work which found publication in Germany, *Meeresgold*. As a dramatist Germany never knew him. Howells had not been entirely forgotten, for his *Tuscan Cities*, originally published in Heinemann and Balestier's *English Library* in 1891, now reappeared after nineteen years in a new edition. Even Henry James, Jr., had not appeared on the new book lists since 1892, but Tauchnitz rescued him and restored him to the public in *The Finer Grain*.

The year 1911 records no diminution of interest in *Ben Hur*. Five editions were published in this year. Many of Twain's works received new editions, while Harte only had one work published. It can be seen that, popular though Bret Harte was, he could not outstrip Mark Twain in the estimation of the German people. Three editions of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* appeared, two being English school texts, the other being published by the Lehrerhausverein für Oberösterreich in Linz. After nineteen years, Heinemann and Balestier issued a new edition of Balestier and Kipling's *Naulahka*. The Literarische Anstalt of Stuttgart published *Das Japanbuch. Eine Auswahl aus Hearn's Werken*, which reached its twelfth thousand. In Twietmeyer's *Sammlung englischer Originalausgaben für Schul- und Privat-Studium*, Lorimer's *Letters from a Self-made Merchant to His Son*, which had already appeared both in Tauchnitz and in translation, was revived for school use.

The banner year of all was 1912, even though it presents the paradox of having the most American novels published within its limits, without a single work of the most popular American author, Mark Twain, being among them. Henry James, Jr., had

received a new lease on life, as two new volumes testify. Jack London increased his reputation with three Tauchnitz volumes and another volume, *Wolfsblut*, in German translation. Harte and Hearn had only one volume each, while F. Marion Crawford appeared with two. *Little Lord Fauntleroy* continues its phenomenal popularity with four new editions, three German and one English. An English and a German edition of *Helen's Babies* were published. Stockton's *Ausgewählte Schriften*, originally published in 1898 by Lutz, appeared in a new edition. Norris' *Pit* is published as *Die Getreidebörse*. Two of Miss Wilkins' novels were published in Heinemann and Balestier's *English Library*. Miss Allcott's *Aus der Knabenwelt* and *Aus der Mädchenwelt* each reached its third edition.

The last year which we shall consider (1913) indicated a decided decrease from the year before. Although Twain is well represented and Jack London holds his prominent place with three new Tauchnitz volumes, Harte, Howells and James have absolutely disappeared, while Crawford, Wallace and Burnett each have only one volume published. It seems almost fitting that it should be so, namely, that the names of Harte, Howells and James, the leaders and teachers of the later American realistic novelists, should close through their departure, not necessarily forever, this great period which they had opened.

The remaining pages of Chapter II are devoted to a chronological table, which summarizes statistically the history of our novel in Germany, 1871-1913, and to a general statement of the determining factors in that history. This study has brought us to the brink of the Great World War of 1914, whose influence upon German American cultural relations cannot be foreseen, nor even imagined.

(c) *Chronological Table.*

(Containing the number of American volumes of the later school of novelists [1871-1913] published in Germany, both in the original and in translation, and not including certain works without literary merit, which appeared only in the cheapest

Volksbibliotheken. A few works are also included which were written in collaboration with foreign authors.)

1871-1876	: 32	1900	: 31
1877-1882	: 88	1901	: 34
1883-1886	: 59	1902	: 19
1887-1890	: 72	1903	: 33
1891	: 41	1904	: 28
1892	: 43	1905	: 41
1893	: 34	1906	: 39
1894	: 17	1907	: 45
1895	: 15	1908	: 29
1896	: 29	1909	: 30
1897	: 16	1910	: 42
1898	: 30	1911	: 46
1899	: 25	1912	: 52
	1913	: 27	

Summary:—87 novelists; 997 novels or volumes of novelettes.

Clement Vollmer.

University of Pennsylvania.

(To be Continued.)



Mr. D. Learned

German American Annual

CONTINUATION OF THE GERMAN

AMERICANA GERMANICA

Vol. XLVI. (1917) Sept., Oct., Nov., and Dec. 1917. Price, \$1.00.
Vol. XLVII. (1918) Jan., Feb., March, April, May, and June 1918. Price, \$1.00.

In German

VOLUME VII. Price, \$1.00. PUBLISHED BY

BY

JACOB G. ROSENBERG, Publisher.

Director of the Publication of Americana Germanica.

The death of Professor Learned is a great loss to the University of Pennsylvania and to German scholarship in connection with the University. He was one of the foremost scholars of the German literature of the nineteenth century. At the presentation of the Nachlass of his papers, which is a standard for German teaching, and which is a very valuable collection of the language, literature, and social problems of the nineteenth century history.

Apart from his own essays, his most important work, *Die deutsche Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, his *German Literature of the Nineteenth Century*, which is a standard for German teaching, and which is a very valuable collection of the language, literature, and social problems of the nineteenth century history. He has brought there,



Wm. L. Leonard

German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

AMERICANA GERMANICA

New Series, Sept., Oct., Nov. and Dec. Old Series,
Vol. XV. Nos. 5 and 6. 1917. Vol. XIX. Nos. 5 and 6.

In Memoriam

THE LATE PROFESSOR LEARNED.

BY

JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN, LL.D.,
Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania.

The death of Professor Learned is a great loss to the University of Pennsylvania and to German scholarship. His connection with the University marked an era of activity in the study of German literature and scholarship. With his address at the presentation of the Bechstein Literary, he set up a high standard for German teaching, aiming not only at a colloquial knowledge of the language, but at an earnest study of German literary and social productions as part of our own American history.

Apart from his own excellent contributions, his *Life of Pastorius*, his *German Grammar*, and other writings, he gave the German reading world the *Annals* and the *Germanica Americana*, periodicals of unusual excellence. In them he published valuable ethnological studies of Pennsylvania-German life,—a survey made by his own painstaking and careful research among the people, with careful comparison of the life here and in the districts of Germany from which they came, showing the customs brought here.

He published many valuable Diaries and Journals of German soldiers who had served under the British flag in the Revolution, and thus added new features of the events of those memorable years supplied by participants. Best of all he inspired students both of his own classes in the University of Pennsylvania and elsewhere, to make careful studies of German influence in various branches of art and literature and industry, in all the regions of the United States where Germans had settled.

One of the best of these, by one of the students of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania, was a careful study of the German settlements in Brazil. During several visits in Germany, Professor Learned made researches in the sources of German-American history, in the great collections in the libraries and state and local archives, and while he printed some of the results, much yet remains both there and here, waiting the leisure that never came, to carry on his studies to a further stage.

It was during his residence abroad that he accumulated a large body of material from original sources hitherto untouched, bearing on the William Tell story and legend. His mastery of the German language of medieval times stood him in good stead, and his story was to throw light on one of the great historical heroes, whose achievements have hitherto been more legendary than historical. This task now remains for others to carry on, when the material he left, much still in Germany, can find hands as strong as his to shape it.

Not only as teacher and student, as author and editor, but as lecturer, Professor Learned earned deserved reputation. He spoke with full mastery of his subject and with a wealth of illustration that added to his addresses. His students and his hearers were alike inspired by his example, to make their own researches, and the inspiration thus given led to the production of many papers and some books that are valuable additions to our knowledge of German and kindred historical subjects.

In his broad field he included the early German literature and that of Scadinavian and kindred peoples and tongues. It was his good fortune to find and bring to his department of the Uni-

versity of Pennsylvania, men who as his students, and later as his assistants, were able under his direction to widen the scope of instruction in the language and literature of Germany and Scandinavia. It was in this way that he made the University the centre of scholarship of a high order of excellence.

It is to be hoped that pious hands of his former students and later associates will be able to garner from his large collections material for a memorial volume that will show how much good work he accomplished and how much he planned, that he was prevented from completing by his long months of suffering and by his untimely death. A bibliography of his publications would be of value, and a list of the topics for which he had gathered material would show how broad were his interests and how large his plans for more work.

His death is not only a loss to the University of Pennsylvania, where he worked with such inspiring influence, but to the American world of German letters and history. His students, past and present, and his contemporaries and associates of other universities and learned bodies will no doubt join in bearing testimony to the good influence of his writings and lectures, and thus preserve his memory as that of student and teacher, author and editor, collector of historical materials, all too soon taken away.

A bibliography of Professor Learned's numerous writings, books, magazine articles, periodicals, addresses, should be accompanied by a full list of those written by his students, for many of them were inspired by his helpful suggestions and aid. Not a few of the theses for the Doctor's and other honors conferred by the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania, to those who had been his students, owed much to his helpful aid and encouragement. It would be of interest, too, to show how many of his pupils are now teaching at the University and at other institutions of learning.

Another example of his good influence is the German Traveling Scholarship, established at his suggestion in the University of Pennsylvania. It has enabled a succession of earnest students to continue their work abroad and to benefit by the ad-

vantages hitherto given by German and Scandinavian Universities. His own interests were largely international, and his acquaintance with students in Germany and Switzerland and Scandinavia, begun when he was a student and increased in several later long and busy residences abroad, was an abiding pleasure to him and to them.

Through them he was given free access to many collections of valuable sources of historical and literary studies, and there are still in Germany many valuable photographic reproductions of rare manuscripts, made for him, which he lacked leisure and life to utilize as he planned, and as he could better have used than almost any other scholar. It is to be hoped that these may yet be added to those already deposited in the Library of the University, as a lasting memorial of his scholarly life, for the use of students who can thus enlarge their scarce material.

PROFESSOR LEARNED AS CITIZEN.

BY

THE HON. RUDOLPH BLANKENBURG, LL.D.,
Former Mayor of Philadelphia.

The grave has closed the earthly pilgrimage of a devoted husband, loving father, true friend, earnest citizen and ripe scholar. While the outer form has passed from view, the spirit lives and will live on to fulfill its mission, acting as a friendly guide to those who had been close to or had the great privilege of knowing Doctor Marion D. Learned.

It was my good fortune, though late in life, to become acquainted with our departed friend, and this acquaintance ripened into a friendship which even death can neither dim nor lessen. While Doctor Learned's death comes as a crushing blow to wife and children, and as an irreparable loss to his many friends, to his co-workers in the field of education and to his student classes his life and life's work will leave an enduring monument in our hearts.

PROFESSOR LEARNED AS COLLEAGUE.

BY

PROFESSOR DANIEL B. SHUMWAY, PH.D.,

Professor of German Philology, University of Pennsylvania.

It is my pleasant task to render my tribute to the memory of Marion Dexter Learned by speaking of him as colleague and friend. For many years it was my good fortune to be closely associated with him in the German department of the University of Pennsylvania and to observe his methods as organizer and teacher. During this period I learned to look upon him as a staunch friend and well wisher, one who was ever ready to aid by counsel and advice, a man on whose strong personality one could lean and one to whom one could freely go in any difficulty.

It is just twenty-two years ago this fall that Professor Learned came from Johns Hopkins to become the head of the department of Germanic Languages and Literatures at the University of Pennsylvania. At the same time I returned from Germany, where I had obtained my Ph.D. I was technically on a leave of absence, having previously taught in the English department, but the then Provost gave Professor Learned *carte blanche* in the matter of appointing his own assistants. It is a sample of Professor Learned's fairness in dealing with others that he did not disregard the promise of the University to me and appoint one of his own students to the position, though the temptation to do so may have been strong. He answered the Provost, in effect, that he knew nothing for or against me and was willing to give me a trial. When at the end of the first academic year I was called on to conduct the oral examination in German Philology of the one candidate for the Ph.D. in the presence of Professor Learned, I felt that I was being tested quite as much as the student. But Professor Learned never showed by word or deed that he was trying me out. Never once did he dictate to me any policy or attempt to interfere with my

method of conducting my courses. This has always been his attitude toward the younger members of the department. Each one was left to work out his own salvation; being thus put upon his honor, as it were, each one felt inspired to do his best.

Before Professor Learned's advent there was practically no graduate work in German at the University. His predecessor, Dr. Seidensticker, it is true, gave a few courses in Gothic and Middle High German, one of which I had the pleasure of taking, but there was no organization and no systematic planning of the work. Professor Learned at once introduced the seminar method, by means of which the student should receive practical training in the preparation of scientific papers. He also instituted the Germanic Association, which has met all these years regularly once a month, except in vacation time, and at which original papers by members of the faculty and by graduate students have been presented for friendly criticism. He soon started a scientific quarterly, the *Americana Germanica*, which ran for four years under this title, and then was resolved into the monthly, the *German American Annals*, and the series of monographs on German American relations, known as the *Americana Germanica*, numbering now thirty-two. These scientific periodicals and monographs form perhaps the best monument to Professor Learned's memory, for almost without exception the articles and studies owe their direct inspiration to him and their final form to his careful supervision. Against the most adverse circumstances he succeeded in the uphill task of financing a scientific periodical for twenty years, no slight undertaking, as any one who has tried to do the same can easily testify.

It was always a source of inspiration to me to observe Professor Learned's method of conducting the seminar and the Germanic Association. He never censured for the love of finding fault, but always with the idea of stimulating the student to better and more systematic effort. His command of dates and his knowledge of books was marvellous. With apparently no effort of memory he drew upon the vast store house of information he possessed to illuminate and to discuss the subject in hand. No wonder that beginning with but one or two students he succeeded

in building up a graduate German department second to none in the country. His students who learned to admire and honor him as teacher, found after graduation that he was a loyal and helpful friend, one to whom they could always go for fatherly advice and counsel. He was singularly successful in "placing" his students, and nearly all of the older graduates now occupy positions of prominence in the universities and colleges of the country.

Professor Learned was a man of strong convictions and of great moral courage. He never hesitated from mere personal considerations to express his feelings openly and freely. He could wax righteously indignant when the occasion required it, and his voice would ring out like a clarion in advocating principles dear to his heart. The world of letters and learning and the community at large have suffered a great loss in the death of so sturdy a champion of the rights of free speech and of thorough scientific method. His colleagues in the faculty mourn the loss of one who was for so many years both advisor and friend.

PROFESSOR LEARNED'S STUDIES IN GERMAN
AMERICAN INTERRELATIONS.

BY

ALBERT B. FAUST, PH.D.,

Professor of German, Cornell University.

From Johns Hopkins University Dr. Learned was called, in 1895, to the chair of Professor Oswald Seidensticker, at the University of Pennsylvania. This succession was significant, for therewith Professor Learned assumed responsibility for certain traditions, which he splendidly maintained and progressively carried forward. Professor Seidensticker had discovered a new field of investigation peculiar to the locality in which he lived. There, from the earliest colonial period the German element had been numerous and influential. Professor Seidensticker re-

vealed the fact that the Pennsylvania German population had a history. After close scrutiny of neglected historical documents he portrayed with rare charm of style the early settlement of Germantown, the industry and simplicity of the German colonists, the religious life of the Ephrata monastery, the monumental achievements of the Saur press, the earliest protest against negro slavery in 1788, by Germantown Quakers, and many other now familiar chapters in the fascinating pioneer life of the Germans in Pennsylvania. For their descendants of his own generation Professor Seidensticker had established a deeper love for their homes and a new pride in their race-stock. Professor Learned at once caught the spirit of his new surroundings, and with characteristic enthusiasm he carried on the work and placed it on a scientific basis.

Professor Learned had been trained in the exact school of philology at Johns Hopkins, and he had become interested in dialect studies. He found in the scorned and derided speech of the rural German population of Pennsylvania a subject for scholarly investigation, and extended his studies, again by personal contact (in 1885), to the dialects of the Palatinate and South-western Germany, whence the emigrations of the eighteenth century mostly proceeded. Improving upon the pioneer work of his predecessor in the field, Professor Haldeman, he applied scientific methods to his investigation, and the result was a grammar of the Pennsylvania German patois. This work was completed while Professor Learned was still at Johns Hopkins and was first published in volumes IX and X of the *American Journal of Philology*, subsequently reprinted under the title *The Pennsylvania German Dialect, Part I.* (Baltimore, 1889.) This, the most scholarly, accurate and vital dialect study that has appeared in America, remained a torso. The author's plan was to publish a dictionary of the dialect, and probably also a much needed anthology of Pennsylvania German literature. These projects undoubtedly remained before him, postponed but not abandoned, while precedence was given to other cherished plans.

Professor Learned became deeply interested in historical investigations, particularly those concerning the Germans in the

United States, and in the historical, literary, and educational interrelations between Germany and America. For the advancement of these studies he founded in 1897 a journal called *Americana Germanica*, after four years renamed *German American Annals*. A retrospect of twenty years shows us how the editor inspired an ever-increasing group of young men with his own zeal for the study of the literature and culture of two great nations and the search for the counteracting influences between them. The editor also succeeded in securing occasional contributions from practically all of the best writers and investigators throughout the country who had labored in the field within the scope of the journal. Looking back over the harvest gathered in, we find materials on the following wide range of subjects: Diaries of Hessian soldiers during the Revolution, of Moravian missionaries on the journeys to pioneer settlements in the eighteenth century; impressions on the American Revolution by German journalists and men-of-letters; early German settlements in Texas, Louisiana, and Canada; the Harmony Society of Pennsylvania and Indiana, the German settlement colony at Hermann, Missouri; German American leaders, as Follen, Astor, Lieber, Schurz; German writers in and on America, as Lenau, Sealsfield, Kürnberger, Armand-Strubberg, Möllhausen, Reitzel, Fulda; studies in Schiller, Herder, Goethe, Heine, Gessner, Freiligrath; the appreciation of Benjamin Franklin, Cooper, Walt Whitman in Germany; Pennsylvania German family names, hymnology, beliefs and superstitions; the utopias of the 48ers and their lyrics, socialism in German American literature; translations and early studies in America of German authors; the German theatre in Philadelphia, New York, etc. Many of the more voluminous contributions were published separately, as monographs of the *Americana Germanica Press*, which exhibits a stately array of thirty-two numbers.

Professor Learned's contributions were numerous. He published the *Bee-Hive of Pastorius*, that curious collection of notes, quotations and aphorisms, didactic, sententious, and epigrammatic, interspersed with verses in Latin, German, English, French, Dutch, and Italian. Professor Learned edited *Philipp*

Waldeck's Diary of the American Revolution, with an introduction and photographic reproductions, also the *Diary of Captain Wiederholt* (1776-1780).

An undertaking brilliant in its conception was the *Ethnographical Survey*, in which the attempt was made to catch, as it were in a drag-net, all the historical and literary material still existing in definite areas of the State of Pennsylvania. A staff of assistants aided the director in the search. He reported on the first summer's work (1903) as follows:

"The initial work began with the original German settlements of Lancaster County, along the Pequa and Conestoga Creeks, and extended into the other German counties of Eastern Pennsylvania and to the Western end of the state into Ohio. In the township of Strasburg the Survey was applied in its rigid form of house to house visitation throughout the entire township. The general lines of work conducted during the summer were as follows:

"1. German industries, particularly the various kinds of mills (grist-, saw-, fulling-), various forms of distilling, an important industry in the early period. Courthouse records were consulted, and old accounts running back into the eighteenth century, also family and personal records. 2. German occupations and trades before 1830. 3. German agriculture and rural architecture. Photographs were taken of agricultural implements, domestic utensils, the German house and barn, the Conestoga wagon, etc. The field of observation was extended beyond Pennsylvania, to German settlement areas in New York, New Jersey, and the Shenandoah Valley. 4. Old German domestic life. 5. The literary life; diaries and unpublished manuscripts. 6. Religious, social, and political life of the Germans in their contact with the Scotch Irish, the English Quakers, the Welsh and other nationalities. 7. Speech conditions, and the drawing of a dialect map. 8. Old colonial roads. 9. Archaeological collections."

The searchers frequently met the disappointing reply: "If you had only come earlier, we could have given you barrels of stuff, only a short time ago we burned a whole mass of books

and records as old rubbish"; or the question: "Have you come by authority of the state?" The people would in that case have opened their garrets and cellars with even greater willingness to the inquiring members of the expedition. Some of the results of the survey were: "Benjamin Heer's Journal (1830)," "An Old Midwife's Record," "Industries of Pennsylvania after the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, with special reference to Lancaster and York Counties" (Luetscher), and "Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans" (Fogel). An account of the work is found in No. 12 of the *Americana Germanica* press publications: "*The American Ethnographical Survey. Conestoga Expedition*. M. D. Learned, Director."

Of permanent value and the most elaborate contribution to the *German American Annals* by the pen of Professor Learned, was his *Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius*. This work was republished separately in a handsome edition (Philadelphia, 1908), illustrated with ninety photographic reproductions, and introduced by an appreciation of Pastorius by Samuel W. Pennypacker. Professor Learned's *Pastorius* furnishes a good illustration of his favorite method. His work is a documentary history or biography. He furnishes as nearly as possible an exhaustive collection of all the documents available on the subject in Europe and America after most painstaking and skillful search. These materials are published verbatim with great accuracy, frequently accompanied by facsimilies; they are given in the original languages without translation and often with no comment. The reviewer in the *Nation* (N. Y.), while according due appreciation to the high merit and historical value of the work, regrets that its method does not make the book readable, the average reader being unable to interpret both ancient and modern languages. However, Professor Learned was undoubtedly well satisfied with this criticism, for it had not been his intention to write a readable book. In fact, he scorned the popular demand as something unworthy, as a temptation to be avoided, tending to lower scientific standards. Moreover he felt the archaeologist's awe of the relics of the sacred past, and the philologist's keen delight in the discovery and deciphering of

an original manuscript. While his ability to interpret history, and his mastery of English style were readily conceded by every reviewer, Professor Learned chose not to exercise those powers, preferring to let truth unadorned radiate from the documents themselves. His *Pastorius* is a marvel of thorough research and scholarly presentation. The frequent explanatory digressions and intricate by-paths furnish many extremely interesting items of information on the manners, customs, and institutions of the seventeenth century.

Another work of fundamental historical value is Professor Learned's *Guide to the Manuscript Materials Relating to American History in the German State Archives* (1912). This work was undertaken under the direction of the Carnegie Institution, Department of Historical Research. The problem before the investigator was to calendar the documents in all the state archives throughout the German Empire which might contain materials for American history. Few scholars fully appreciate the difficulties of archive work, few realize the responsibility that is undertaken in the effort to drain the supply of materials on any subject in a given depository. Often the archivist himself does not know how much material exists in his archive or in what departments or under what rubrics it is stored away. The investigator and archivist must coöperate in searching for the treasured materials, and with unceasing effort exhaust every possibility. Professor Learned's net made a large haul, described in a volume of more than 350 pages. His positive results were of three kinds: First, materials throwing light on the early emigrations, their causes and extent, the struggles for confessional liberty, the efforts of governments to prevent emigration in the eighteenth century; secondly, records, notably in the state archives of Marburg, Wolfenbüttel, Bamberg, Würzburg and Hannover, concerning the auxiliary German troops of the Revolutionary War; thirdly, materials exhibiting the diplomatic and the later commercial relations between German states and the new republic, and the later emigrations of the nineteenth century. A fascinating chapter in the history of diplomacy is contained in the correspondence between the American agents abroad, notably Arthur

Lee in Paris, and Schulenburg, Frederick the Great's minister of state in Berlin. The Guide opens the door to more thorough and comprehensive investigation in many departments of American history, at the same time eliminating needless inquiries for materials where they do not exist.

A number of other works, in part historical, proceeded from Professor Learned's pen, among them his early sketch, *The German American Turner Lyric*, published by the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland (Baltimore, 1896), and his late genealogical study, *Abraham Lincoln, An American Migration, Family English not German*" (Philadelphia, 1909). His important discovery of a document in which the spelling "Linkhorn" is used for "Lincoln," misspelled, as the scrivener declares, because of misinformation and in imitation of the common pronunciation, removes the most serious flaw in the chain of evidence for the English origin of the President's family. Another concluding link is the circumstance (not mentioned) that "Linkhorn" has not been found to be a German name. The trail of the Lincoln family's migration is followed minutely in this work from Massachusetts, through New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia to Kentucky.

As a speaker on memorable occasions and as a teacher, Professor Learned also introduced the subject in which he was the leading specialist, the cultural interrelations between Germany and America. He stated at one time that he had been the first to give university lectures on the literary influences between the two countries. Those who were privileged to know Professor Learned well, remember that he was happiest when surrounded by his students, for discussion and helpful criticism. To them, as to his friends, he extended an unfailing and generous hospitality, and neglected no opportunity to aid and encourage them.

PROFESSOR LEARNED IN GERMANY.

BY

DAVID JAYNE HILL, LL.D.,

Former Ambassador to Germany.

In the death of Dr. Marion D. Learned Germanic philology has suffered an irreparable loss. I use the word "irreparable" in no complimentary sense, but with the intention of emphasizing the fact that in the full meaning of the expression he cannot be replaced. Not for generations, if ever, will any scholar of American birth, without a trace of German blood, devote himself to the study and teaching of German culture with the disinterestedness, the enthusiasm, and the wholeheartedness that characterized the devotion of Dr. Learned.

There was absolutely nothing in his antecedents to mark out for him the career to which he so passionately consecrated his professional life. An American of the Americans in heredity, in spirit, and in understanding, he had arrived at the age of manhood before he had acquired even an elementary knowledge of the German language. It was as foreign to him as Sanscrit or Coptic. As a teacher in the Dickinson Seminary at Williamsport, Pennsylvania, he was still a modest student of the German tongue, seeking out those who could help him to master its difficulties.

But it was not the speech of Germany that most appealed to him. He loved it and pursued it, spending much research upon its dialects, dipping deeply into its cognate tongues, and at last became familiar with its most intimate structure and historical development. All this was only the vestibule to the great temple in which his whole nature found inspiration. Philology as a science appealed to his intelligence, but it was the literature—the poetry, the imagination, the philosophy, the qualities of the German mind and soul that wrought upon him with an irresistible fascination. He lived and moved and had his being in German thought.

It is not wonderful that he rose to one of the highest places in the university life of America as an authority on all things German, a recognized interpreter of Germanism to America, honored by his colleagues in this country and by all the important German Societies, recognized abroad as a scholar of the highest rank, and commended by the Kultusministerium of the German Empire as a worthy recipient of high honor at the hand of the Emperor.

In all this he was happy, but without the distortion of vision that such honors sometimes produce. He valued the recognition he received in Germany, because he knew he had honestly deserved it, but a thousand such influences could not deflect his aims or awaken his vanity. His reward was in his work, not in anything extraneous to it. If high authority saw in it a reason for approval, that was gratifying; but it added nothing to the meaning of his life. That was too sacred to be subordinated to anything external to itself.

One can well understand how deeply this pure, unselfish and devoted man was wounded when the shadow fell across his path, and he could no longer speak the word "Germany" with the loving fervor with which he had always spoken it. Suddenly, to his amazement, a curtain had been lifted, and he saw that there was something in German life and purpose which he had not suspected, something that contradicted and for the time effaced that which had so inspired his action and fired his affections. He saw with keen insight that his work had received a heavy blow. He felt that, for the first time, he was not proud of that which was so closely identified with his life-work. He lived to see his country at war with Germany; not the Germany he had loved, but a Germany with which he could no longer stand. It was a bitter experience, and the disillusionment bore heavily upon his mind in his last months of gloom and physical decline.

The time will come when this deep shadow that darkened the last days of Dr. Learned will be lifted. In that coming time he will take his rightful place in the history of culture. He will stand for that broad cosmopolitanism that seeks the best that is to be found in the world, and at the same time for that patriotism

that is loyal to all that is true and good and beautiful in the Fatherland of the spirit, which knows no bounds except the distinctions between right and wrong.

To his memory, the scholar, the patriot, the friend, one can add nothing but the tribute of our affection. A blameless life, a complete consecration, a heroic death—what more can any of us desire? All these were his.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.

BY

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The strongest and most lasting impression of Professor Learned that has remained with me is that of simplicity and consistency in thought and endeavor. Our first interview took place in the summer of 1882, in Roaring Branch, Pa., whither he had come to consult with me about undertaking graduate work in the Johns Hopkins University. Before our talk was over, everything had been settled, even to the subject of his Doctor's thesis. This dissertation, *The Pennsylvania German Dialect* (1889), was already in the highest degree characteristic of the man. Believing as he did that literary accomplishment in the nation and the individual is conditioned by the appropriation and happy use of other national "cultures" homogeneous to himself and his own people, he took the relation and inter-relation of the German and Anglo-Saxon elements in the United States for his text, discovering and exploiting new variations of this theme to the day of his death. Other pieces of work, as his *Saga of Walther of Aquitaine* (1892), displayed riper ability and a surer literary touch, but the strength and peculiar quality of his life-work lay in the direction just indicated and were manifest already in him as a student. In re-reading his address as President of the

Modern Language Association of America (1909) on *Linguistic Study and Literary Creation*, I have been again impressed by the militant, but at the same time buoyant and hopeful, tone in which those identical theses were dwelt upon and applied to the discussion of burning problems in the teaching of German and French in this country. I saw Professor Learned for the last time during the winter of 1915-1916, in Baltimore, and found him strangely quiet. In looking back upon that interview, it seems as though the hand of death must already have been resting on him; I cannot for a moment believe that the tragic estrangement between the century-long friends, Germany and the United States, which his last days were to witness, would have extinguished his hope, or darkened his faith in the ultimate realization of the ideals he has passionately and nobly striven for. I cherish the memory of his youthful ardor, of his singleness of purpose, of his uncompromising but winning sincerity of character, as typical of the best spirit of scholarship in America, and as a life-long personal possession.

RESOLUTIONS

In der am 6. Dezember abgehaltenen Sitzung des Exekutiv-Komitees der German-American Historical Society wurden aus Anlass des Ablebens von Professor Dr. Marion Dexter Learned folgende Beschlüsse gefasst:

Da es dem allmächtigen Herrn über Leben und Tod gefallen hat, Professor Dr. Marion Dexter Learned von dem Felde seiner Wirksamkeit abzurufen, so sei es beschlossen:

Erstens—dass wir unser tiefgefühltes Beileid der Familie des Verstorbenen ausdrücken;

Zweitens—dass wir es schmerzlich bedauern, in Professor Dr. M. D. Learned ein so eifriges Glied unserer Gesellschaft und einen so fähigen Herausgeber der *German American Annals* verloren zu haben;

Drittens—dass wir versuchen werden, das Werk, dem der Verstorbene ein gut Teil seiner Kraft gewidmet und das er mit so viel Verständniss und Liebe gefördert hat, in seinem Sinn und Geist weiterzuführen;

Viertens—dass wir das Andenken an Ihn stets unter uns wach erhalten werden;

Fünftens—dass diese Beschlüsse in den *German American Annals* veröffentlicht werden.

Dr. Albert Bernheim, Präsident.

Pastor Georg von Bosse, Vice-Präsident.

Dr. E. M. Fogel, Sekretär.

Hans Weniger, Schatzmeister.

THE AMERICAN NOVEL IN GERMANY, 1871-1913.

(Concluded.)

(d) *Determining Factors.*

In attempting to fix some definite causes for the rising and falling of the American novel in Germany, one is confronted by a confusing array of facts and circumstances, some of which may have had a general or even a particular influence, but most of which bear too remote a relation to the problem on hand to give us much enlightenment. It is the purpose in the following section to point out some of these circumstances and to attempt an assignment of them to their proper place in the history of the American novel in Germany, wherever that is possible.

With eighty-seven American novelists and nine hundred and ninety-seven American novels or volumes of short stories (or novelettes) published in Germany between 1871-1913, with a host of minor writers of fiction, whom we do not mention in the same breath with American literature, we cannot say that our novel has been neglected in Germany. But that it might have had even greater success under other conditions may be gleaned from the following interesting circumstance. The American novelist has rarely taken as his background the life and customs of Germany and the Germans. This may be because the Frenchman, the Italian, the Spaniard, and even the Englishman exhibit more of the romantic and sentimental in their external life than the German. The best qualities of the German are usually bound up in his innermost personality and come to the surface only when put to the test. He is introspective and individualistic in his private life and does not lend himself to the pliable treatment that the average American novelist demands. In consequence, the

German and his country have been brushed aside when foreign themes and backgrounds were searched for. A. B. Maurice⁵⁹ has pointed out that, of the leading American novels dealing with foreign countries, twenty-six had their background in the British Isles, twenty-one in France, twenty-four in Italy, four in Germany and one in Austria. In the Tauchnitz collection, which included four hundred and thirty-seven of the most prominent works of sixty-eight American authors, up to June, 1914, only six deal directly with German or Austrian conditions.⁶⁰ Evidently Germany and Austria have not appealed to the American novelist's imagination. It is reasonable to assume that, had the same attention been given to Germany as to Britain, France and Italy, at least those novels dealing with Germany would have been translated and read, and would doubtless have led to a keener interest in American letters. Here, then, we find a very good reason for the apparent lack of interest among Germans in our novel-literature taken as a whole, such as, *e. g.*, is accorded the French, Russian and British novel-literature. This, however, did not affect the diametrically opposite warmth of interest in our most uniquely American products, such as those of Harte, Twain, Habberton, Bellamy, etc.

The various histories of America literature and important literary contributions, which discussed American literature, did contribute their share in stimulating interest. We noted above that Scherr's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur*, even in its later editions of 1875 and 1880, had given but little separate recognition to our literature and had mingled our authors indiscriminately with the British authors. But it is nevertheless gratifying to find that a genuine *Geschichte der nordamerikani-*

⁵⁹ *Bookman*, Vol. 27 (1908), p. 246.

⁶⁰ Gertrude Atherton: *Tower of Ivory* (Munich).
F. Marion Crawford: *Greifenstein* (Schwarzwald).
A Cigarette-Maker's Romance.

Blanche W. Howards: *The Open Door*.
The Witch of Prague (Prague).

Mark Twain: *A Tramp Abroad*.

schen Literatur, by Brunnemann, appeared as early as 1868. Although this immediately precedes the opening of our period, the work probably aroused little attention. Very enthusiastic in its spirit, it leaves no real hope in the minds of students that a great future is in store for the literature of our reconstructed Republic. But in 1876 appeared Thomas Wentworth Higginson's *Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika in populärer Darstellung* (Auerbach, Stuttgart). It was illustrated with numerous wood-cuts and contained three maps. It was meant for the public at large and unquestionably added to the interest and understanding of America among the German middle classes. The increase of eighty-eight published volumes in the five years between 1877-1882 over the thirty-two between 1871-1876 is very significant and may be traced partly to Higginson's work. Ernst Otto Hopp's *Unter dem Sternenbanner. Streifzüge in das Leben und die Literatur der Amerikaner*,⁶¹ was an important contribution to the spread of knowledge concerning America and her literature. Rudolf Doehn's *Aus dem Amerikanischen Dichterwald* (Leipzig, 1881), was an attempt to formulate a chronological history of American literature, but it became known to but a limited circle of people, and probably exerted no influence on those who had heretofore not concerned themselves with American men of letters. As early as 1883, Eduard Engel added an appendix on American literature to his *Geschichte der Englischen Literatur*, and later this was published separately as *Geschichte der Literatur Nordamerikas*. Wülker, the greatest of all among the historians of English literature in Germany, refused to add an account of American literature, "weil diese Literatur selbständig, nicht als Anhängsel behandelt werden müsse." Engel's work, though short and concise, but written in his warm, sympathetic tone of admiration, probably helped to make the fifty-eight volumes published in three years (1883-1886) so encouraging an increase over the thirty-

⁶¹ Bromberg, Fischer, 1877.

two-volumes in five years of the preceding decade (1871-1876). Karl Knortz, who had already done much in stirring up interest in Germany for our literature through his translation of our poets, contributed a masterful work in his *Geschichte der Nord-amerikanischen Literatur*.⁶² This was an attempt to fill a long-felt need, for Engel's work, though splendid in quality, was too sketchy to give sufficient information on any particular subject. But Knortz' two-volume history was a "work which for comprehensiveness, accuracy and appreciativeness compares favorably with any of our own text-books on American literature."⁶³ Its striking fault is that it tries to be too comprehensive and includes many minor authors who contributed little or nothing to our literature. In reviewing Knortz' work, Ernst Otto Hopp, author of *Unter dem Sternenbanner*, remarks: "Es steht zu fürchten, dass auch diese Knortz'sche Literaturgeschichte amerikanischer Namen kein grosses Terrain erobern und die Papierkosten des Verlegers kaum decken wird."⁶⁴ Unfortunately it cannot be stated that this most thorough of all histories of American literature in Germany had any direct influence on the reading and spread of contemporary American novelists. After two years in which the novel seems to hold its own, the terrific slump of 1894-1897 occurs. At the opening of this period, in 1894, a series of lectures was delivered by Frank Sintenis in the University of Dorpat, including lectures on Bret Harte, Bellamy and Mark Twain. These were published under the title of *Literarische Ansichten in Vorträgen*, but can scarcely have reached far beyond the small circle of those who heard the lectures. Following close upon Sintenis' work, we find Edward Payson Evans' *Beiträge zur Amerikanischen Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1898). This is a work of undoubted merit. Its author was born in America, but since 1870 had been living in Germany and was for all practical purposes, a German. This volume, which had previously appeared as a series of articles in

⁶² Lützenöder, Berlin, 1891.

⁶³ H. H. Peckham in *South Atlantic Monthly*, Oct., 1914, p. 382 ff.

⁶⁴ *Englische Studien*, Bd. XVII (1892), p. 237.

prominent periodicals, seems to place a new life and meaning into our literature for the German, and it cannot reasonably be doubted that the increased demand for American literature, which resulted in the increased publication between 1898-1901 can be partly attributed directly to Evans' incisive and interesting articles.

In 1899, Karl Federn, an Austrian who had made a name for himself as an authority on Nietzsche and who was an ardent admirer of Emerson, published a group of *Essays zur amerikanischen Literatur*, including papers on Whitman, Emerson and Thoreau.

The very next year (1900) appeared Anton E. Schönbach's *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur neueren Literatur* (Graz, 1900), in which various phases of German, Austrian and American literature were discussed. Besides separate essays on Cooper, Longfellow and Hawthorne, we find an excellent résumé of the new American novel in the essay *Der amerikanische Roman der Gegenwart*. Schönbach's character-studies and fair-minded and scholarly valuation of our fiction are worthy of the highest praise. His ability to interest readers in the subject under discussion must have opened many eyes to the wealth of literary effort across the Atlantic. About this time there was a great flood of works in Germany on America and they contributed to the growing knowledge and interest in every phase of American life. Fwald Flügel's *Die nordamerikanische Literatur* (Leipzig and Vienna) appeared in 1907, the year which was superseded only by 1911 and 1912 in the number of American novels published in Germany. The publication of Professor Alphonso Smith's lectures at the University of Berlin in the winter semester of 1910-1911 under the title of *Die amerikanische Literatur*,⁶⁵ made a tremendous impression in German literary and university circles, and it is not a matter of chance that 1912 forms the high-water mark in the tide of production of American novels. Kellner's Götschen edition of *Die amerikani-*

⁶⁵ Berlin, 1912.

sche Literatur (1912) probably did its share in making our literature popular. The following year (1913) however cut the total of fifty-one practically in half with only twenty-six publications.

Certain other works must be given their share of the credit for awakening a German interest in American fiction. Our historians, Motley and Parkman, had both been translated, Motley's works appearing at Dresden in 1857, while Parkman's appeared at Stuttgart in 1875, the translation being by Kapp. Schlaf, besides translating Whitman, wrote an excellent work on the man and his literary work, and even attempted to imitate him in German, without however acquiring much success. One of the best articles ever written on Lowell, we are reminded by H. H. Peckham,⁶⁶ was written by A. E. Schönbach.⁶⁷

This leads us to the part played by the periodicals in Germany. A constant stream of articles on the older and newer writers of our literature has appeared in the best German journals. Miss Colbron⁶⁸ is therefore far from right when she states that "the same literary journals which come out strong in praise of our classics, which give full mead of praise to Emerson, Hawthorne, Poe . . . these same journals turn with cold scorn from our newer writers." If it would serve any purpose, a long list of articles could be found dealing with our very latest literature and dealing with it fairly, discriminatingly and thoroughly. One of the leaders in this respect is the *Magazin für Literatur*, so-called since 1891. From 1832-1880 it was known as *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* (M. f. d. L. d. A.) and from 1881-1890 as *Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslandes*. Its long articles and reviews came to the attention of many people and doubtless led many to examine into our literature. Ever since January 4, 1873, this periodical has had a column entitled "Amerikanischer Büchermarkt," in which American works in both German and English are announced. *Englische Studien*, which first appeared in 1877, makes scarcely any mention of

⁶⁶ *South Atlantic Monthly*, Oct., 1914.

⁶⁷ *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Neueren Literatur*, Graz, 1900.

⁶⁸ *Bookman*, March, 1914, p. 47.

American literature up to and including 1899, with the exception of terming Engel's history an "Anhängsel" and severely criticizing Knortz' splendid two-volume history. However, since 1900, *Englische Studien* has devoted a column regularly to "Amerikanische Literatur," where the newest works are ably discussed. *Das literarische Echo*, since 1898, has had an excellent review of the latest literary happenings in America in many numbers. It would be useless to even mention the countless periodicals and newspapers which have presented regular critical columns, carefully edited essays, encomiums, eulogies, appreciations and necrologues on American authors. Besides these, many periodicals and daily newspapers published American poetry and prose works in the form of substantial translations. As an example of this, the *Deutsche Rundschau*, between December, 1878, and June, 1888, printed five complete novels of Bret Harte in long serial form. In fact, so ardent and zealous were German periodicals to acquire and print the very latest that America had to offer, that one of these stories, *Aus Californien's frühen Tagen*,⁶⁰ appeared in a German periodical, even before it appeared in English, by virtue of a special arrangement made by the owners of the magazine. The *Vossische Zeitung* (Berlin), the *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung* (especially the *Beilage*), the *Berliner Tageblatt* and the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, all have done valiant service in keeping our literature before the eyes of the people of Germany. It is a fact worthy of note that the reviews and criticisms of American works show a marked increase, as the years went by, in the appreciation of our American viewpoint, and can be said to be at present far more valuable, as well as more searching, than was the case thirty or more years ago.

A word in passing might be said concerning the part played by publishers in introducing the American novel into Germany. Some firms printed the English originals only, others the German translations only, and still others both. The Tauchnitz firm has published the works of sixty-seven American authors in neat, convenient pocket editions. All over Germany various "Eng-

⁶⁰ *Deutsche Rundschau*, Oct.-Nov., 1880, p. 268 ff.

lish Libraries" have sprung up, those of Heinemann and Balestier (Leipzig), Rudolphi and Klemm (Zürich), Asher's *Continental Library* (Grädener & Richter), Kühtmann (Dresden), *Modern English Authors* (Berlin, Herbig), being the most important. Then there have been special series of Schulausgaben by Velhagen & Klasing, Lindauer (München), Regensburg (Münster), A. Twietmeyer (Leipzig), Buchholz and Diebel (Troppau), and others. Reclam has published the works of many American authors in German translation, making them accessible to all people because of the cheap binding. Other series which include American authors in their lists of inexpensive editions are: *Englische Romanbibliothek* (Barthol & Company, Berlin), *Bibliothek der Gesamtliteratur des In- und Auslandes* (Halle, O. Hendel), *Berlepsch Romanbibliothek* (Regensburg, Habel), *Bücherei für die Jugend* (Wien, Pichler), *Weichert's Wochenbibliothek* (Berlin), *Zehnpfennig Bibliothek* (Berlin), Meyer's *Volksbücher* (à 10 Pf.), *Bibliothek der fremden Zungen* (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart), *Fehsenfeld's Roman-sammlung* (Freiburg i/B), Kürschner's *Bücherschatz*, Lutz' *Kriminal und Detektiv Romane* (Stuttgart), *Amerikanische Detektiv Romane* (Berlin, Jacobsthal), Zwissler's *Hausbibliothek* (Wolfenbüttel), *Der neue Roman* (Berlin, Hartmann), *Singer-Bücher* (Strassburg, J. Singer), *Weber's moderne Bibliothek* (Heilbronn), *Unwin Library* (Leipzig), *Jugend und Volksbücherei* (Regensburg), *Hesse's Volksbücherei*, etc. There are altogether between ninety and one hundred firms, some of them in Austria and Switzerland, which have, between 1871-1913, published one or more American novels either in the original or in translation. To the work of these firms, mercenary, though it may have been, and spurred on as they were chiefly by a vigorous competition, we must nevertheless assign that share of credit which is due each agency that has helped to make America better known abroad.

There is another factor which helped to lead Germans into a deeper study of our fiction, namely, the appreciation and respect which Germany already had for our poetry. Between 1864 and 1909 twenty-six anthologies were published in Germany, de-

voted either entirely or in part to American poetry. In 1864 appeared Karl Vollheim's *Perlen der neuen englischen und amerikanischen Lyrik*,⁷⁰ and in 1865 Friedrich Spielhagen's *Amerikanische Gedichte* (Leipzig). Then came Adolf Strodtmann's *Amerikanische Anthologie* (Hildburghausen, 1870). These three collections were important, since they appear at the very threshold of the period which we are treating. A. I. Roehm⁷¹ finds that American poets have been translated far oftener than British poets in Germany, but that the quality of the translation is correspondingly weakened.

Longfellow and Poe are the only American poets whose works have been completely translated by the Germans, but Bryant, Whitman and Taylor are represented with good collections. Byron was translated only half as many times as Longfellow, but while A. Böttger's Byron translation went through six editions, only two of the fifteen German translations of *Evangeline* reached a second edition. Tennyson's *Enoch Arden* was translated only half as often as *Evangeline*, but Waldmüller's translation of *Enoch Arden* went through thirty-five editions. Boehm remarks: "Trotz anscheinlich günstigen äusserlichen Verhältnissen, finden wir also auf dem amerikanisch-deutschem Gebiet eine im grossen Ganzen sehr minderwärtige Übersetzungsliteratur." But the nine complete or selected translations of Longfellow, and especially the fifteen translations of *Evangeline* and nine translations of *Hiawatha* demonstrate clearly how great a demand there was for his works. Knortz' excellent biography of Longfellow also became well-known. Although Knortz thought Longfellow too highly sentimental and effeminate and not sufficiently substantial, that his popularity was due to his mildness and gentleness, his great sincerity and sympathy rather than because he took any decided stand on any important issue, yet he says of him: "Liebenswürdig und anziehend ist seine Muse, vollendet sein Formtalent, ausgezeichnet sein Gefühl in der Wahl passender Rhyth-

⁷⁰ Leipzig, Wenger, 1864.

⁷¹ Chicago University, Ph.D., Diss., 1910.

men und Metren."⁷² A. Baumgartner said: "Eine Englische Literatur ohne Longfellow ist so unvollständig als eine französische ohne Rousseau, oder eine deutsche ohne Rosegger."⁷³ Edmund Gosse declared Longfellow to be as true a poet as ever breathed. There is thus ample proof that our greatest poet was known and appreciated by many Germans, and this is quite as true of Walt Whitman.⁷⁴

Knortz wrote a biography of Whitman, and Johannes Schlaf not only wrote a work⁷⁵ on this poet, but translated and even imitated his poetry in German. The fact that Whitman was not included in Knortz and Dickmann's collection called *Modern American Lyrics*,⁷⁶ called forth a storm of protest in Germany. "Aber was soll man zu einer Mustersammlung amerikanischer Lyriker sagen, in welcher Walt Whitman ganz und gar durch seine Abwesenheit glänzt. . . ." ⁷⁷ But Ferdinand Freiligrath found Whitman a great enough poet to translate, and Eduard Bertz called him the greatest master of "Stimmung" of all ages.⁷⁸

An article in the *Athenaeum* for March 11, 1876, speaks of the unjust treatment accorded Whitman by magazines, publishers, critics, etc., in America and adds: "Der alte Mann lebt noch, und soll man wenigstens den Versuch nicht unterlassen, ihm nach diesem harten Tagewerke einen weniger trüben, nicht von Noth

⁷² Longfellow, *Literarhistorische Studie*, Hamburg, 1879, Grüning. Cf. also *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, Jan. 25, 1879, p. 59.

⁷³ *Magazin für Literatur*, Feb. 19, 1898, p. 1898.

⁷⁴ Cf. O. E. Lessing: *Whitman and his German Critics*, in *Journal of English and German Philology*, Vol. IX (1910), p. 85 ff.

⁷⁵ Johannes Schlaf: *Walt Whitman*, Vol. 18 of *Die Dichtung* (1904). Of this work Lessing says (*Jour. of Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, X, p. 91): "This little book is an unparalleled example of high-handed arrogance, cowardly imposition and utter ignorance." Lessing further declares Schlaf to have been completely incompetent as a critic of Whitman, not having read more than fifteen per cent. of his work and having but a very imperfect knowledge of the English language.

⁷⁶ Leipzig, 1880.

⁷⁷ *M. f. d. L. d. A.*, Sept. 4, 1880, p. 505.

⁷⁸ Bertz considerably modified his opinion of Whitman after he had made a more thoroughgoing study of the underlying personality of the man. (Cf. E. Bertz: *Walt Whitman, ein Charakterbild*, Vol. VII of *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, 1905.) Bertz was then so vigorously attacked by Schlaf that he was forced to defend himself by exposing the latter in *Whitman-Mysterien* (1907) and *Der Yankee Heiland*.

und Mangel heimgesuchten Lebensabend zu bereiten, und nicht erst seinen Tod zu erwarten, um ihm eine späte Anerkennung in Marmor oder Bronze zu zollen." And the *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* adds:⁷⁹ "Wenn Deutschland,—das trotz aller Behauptungen auswärtiger Pressen, in geistiger Beziehung am freiesten dasteht, freier als das der selbstgeschmiedeten Fesseln begränzter geistiger Anschauung sich erst allmählich bewusst werdende England, freier als der diese Fesseln mit Stolz zur Schau tragende Freistaat der Neuen Welt—für den jeder Fessel trotzendes amerikanischen Sänger auch nicht viel tun kann, so wollen wir ihm wenigstens die Beachtung nicht vorenthalten, welche die eigne Heimat ihm versagt." What a warm-hearted tribute from a foreign shore to a poor, ridiculed, friendless old bard, to whom his own country had turned its back and had coldened its heart.

Is it then too much to say that this keen interest in Germany for our poets, these twenty-six anthologies, these many translations of cherished poems,⁸⁰ and these splendid tributes to their memory must have created an interest in the literary efforts of the Republic across the seas and must have thus helped create the demand for our better fiction? It is undoubtedly true that the appreciation of the delicate art of Longfellow, Poe, Whitman,⁸¹ Whittier, Bryant, Lowell and Taylor gave our country a reputation for imaginative genius and creative power that led Germans to inquire into the work of a Bret Harte, a Mark Twain, a Howells, a James, and a score of others who formed the formidable company of new novelists.

Perhaps another reason for Germany's approval of and participation in our later American novel may be found in the close touch which certain of our literary men have had with Germany. Bayard Taylor, for example, was always a friend and admirer of the Germans and their literature. He spent part

⁷⁹ April 29, 1876, p. 259.

⁸⁰ Roehm found fifteen translations of *Evangeline*, nine of *Hiawatha*, nine of Poe's *Raven*, eight of Bryant's *Thanatopsis*, five of Whittier's *Maud Muller*.

⁸¹ In spite of much unfavorable criticism such as that mentioned above.

of two years, during which he traveled afoot through Europe, in Germany (1844-1846) and during the very last year of his life he was the accredited minister of our Government at Berlin (June to September, 1878). He had only been in Berlin a few months when he died. But he had gained impressions that appeared the following year in *Studies in German Literature*,⁸² and in turn Germany had gained an impression of love and respect for him that has never died. Many tributes to his memory appeared in the German periodicals, and most of them voiced the closer touch that had been created between Germany and America through the personality of this man. To quote from one of them: "Was Wunder also, dass das deutsche Volk dem grossen Bayard Taylor als Gesandten der Vereinigten Staaten Republik ein so einstimmiges Wohlwollen entgegenrug, wie wohl noch nie dem Gesandten einer fremden Macht. Eine tiefe Sympathie verband ja beide—Bayard Taylor und das deutsche Volk. . . . Kommende Geschlechter werden ihn nennen, die nie in sein freundlich-inniges Antlitz geschaut, nie seine treue Hand gefasst, nie ein Wort aus seinem Munde gehört. Denn ob auch der Hauch seines Mundes verweht, sein Wort, sein Dichterwort bleibt. . . . In der neuen Welt geboren, und in der alten gereift, hat er sein Volk gelehrt die Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, auf dass die Brüder einander kennen; dessen bleibt Deutschland eingedenk."⁸³ That there was a decided increase in the publication of American novels after 1878 is undoubted, and it may easily have been partly brought about through the popularity of Bayard Taylor. It might also be added that Mark Twain and others came into close and cordial personal relations with Germany, and did a great deal in demonstrating the real essence and fibre of the American spirit, leading more or less directly to a greater appreciation of our literature.

There is nothing in the political relations of Germany and America which influenced the reading of our novel abroad. Even the Spanish-American War failed to mark a definite epoch in the

⁸² New York, 1879.

⁸³ *M. f. d. L. d. I. u. A.*, Feb. 22, 1879, p. 117.

development. In fact, eleven years after the war (1909) the number of publications had fallen below the mark set by the Peace Jubilee Year of 1898. The professorial exchange system, begun about 1906, may have stimulated interest, since 1907 marks the highest point in the whole history of our novel in Germany with the exception of two years, 1911 and 1912.

It must always be borne in mind that, whereas certain factors may have had a broad general influence in increasing or decreasing the number of American novels published, it nevertheless remains for the popularity of the individual author, whatever the reason for that popularity may be, to determine the degree of interest with which he is received in a foreign land. The Bibliography which forms Chapter III of this work, will show clearly who these most popular authors were.

CHAPTER III.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

[This bibliography contains a complete list of American novels, within the limitations described in Chapter II (a), published in Germany and in certain Austrian and Swiss centres between the years 1871 and 1913, inclusive. The translations are indicated either (a) by the German title, (b) by the name of the translator, which is added in parentheses wherever obtainable, or (c) by (———) wherever a German title was not used and the name of the translator was not available.]

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